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ABSTRACT

The document comprises two articles which examine the use of teacher aides and paraprofessional personnel in schools in Western Europe and the United States. The first article is presented in four chapters. Chapter I presents a rationale for using teacher aids in schools in northwestern Europe. Teacher aides are favored because they counteract teacher shortages, relieve teachers of house keeping chores, and offer individual attention to students. Chapter II describes pilot projects using teacher assistants in Germany, Norway, Sweden, and Scotland. Chapter III offers case studies of three primary schools in England and describes guidelines for training teacher aides in England and Wales. Chapter IV reviews problems and advantages of using paraprofessional school personnel. The second article explores use of educational paraprofessionals in schools in the United States. Topics discussed include historical background; present situation; activities of paraprofessionals; recruitment, employment, and training; pupil learning in situations where teacher aids are used; teacher-paraprofessional interaction; career opportunities; and issues related to employment of paraprofessionals in schools. (DB)

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TEACHER TASKS IN INNOVATIVE SCHOOLS

Vol. III

UTILISATION OF TEACHER AIDS IN SOME EUROPEAN COUNTRIES AND THE UNITED STATES

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PREFACE

1. Within the framework of the programme of work of the Education Committee, the OECD has over the last few years undertaken an analysis of various aspects of teacher policies in primary and secondary education.

2. Previous studies were mainly concerned with how teachers' roles and functions evolve when innovations are introduced in primary and secondary schools and with the general implications for teacher training.

3. As the work developed, it appeared useful to complete these studies with an analysis of the actual tasks that the school staff - and more particularly the teachers - are called upon to perform when implementing innovations at the level of compulsory education, and a number of innovative schools have therefore been selected for such detailed analysis of actual practices.

4. The interest shown in these analyses has encouraged the Secretariat to publish them under the general title :"Teacher Tasks in Innovative Schools". This publication is one of a series of three volumes :

Vol. I is concerned with primary schools in United States, Netherlands and United Kingdom.

Vol. II deals with compulsory secondary education in Belgium, Norway and United Kingdom.

Vol. III is concerned with utilisation of teacher aids in some European countries and United States.

These studies are being issued in one language version only, the original one in which they were prepared.

EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

TEACHERS' AIDES AND SCHOOL ASSISTANTS
SOME EXAMPLES

by

Jon Lauglo
University of London Institute of Education

PREFACE

A great many persons and institutions have been helpful with source material for this report. I am especially grateful to the head teachers and staffs at Tameside Infant School, "Oak Hill" Middle School, and Julian's Primary School and to the Education Office in Sandwell, "Greenham",* and Inner London. Valuable background information was provided by the Department of Education and Science, the National Union of Teachers, Professor John Duthie of the University of Stirling, and Mrs J Jones of Warley College of Technology. Material from outside of Britain was generously supplied by the Ministries of Education in Bavaria and Lower Saxony, the Swedish National Board of Education, The Malmö School of Education, Skellefteå municipality, the Norwegian State Council for Innovation in Education, and by some other institutions. Diana Clayton and Anne Peters of the University of London Institute of Education Library assisted in the search for background literature.

Jon Lauglo

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* Greenham is a fictitious name.

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CHAPTER I

BACKGROUND RESEARCH AND RATIONALES FOR TEACHERS' AIDES

The great expansion in Western European education during the recent decades has been accompanied by a more deliberate effort to improve the use that schools make of human and material resources in order to realise their objectives. There has at the same time been a trend to stress more strongly "wide" conceptions of educational objectives, the educational needs of the "whole" child. The institutional response has been a trend towards increased division of labour in education, primarily by new roles being added to existing ones. The range of such "specialist" and "non-specialist" roles which usually are seen as providing support for teachers, seems greatest in urban centers and in countries where the scale of education has expanded furthest. The city of Stockholm provides an example. Since 1950, at least the following roles have been added: heads of school subject department, departmental technician (e.g. in science departments), school social workers, school psychologists, full-time leisure activity organisers, part-time leisure activity leaders, school guidance counsellors (occupational and educational guidance), teacher's assistants, school hostesses, and pupil assistants. Some of these roles are found in each school, others are located in units servicing an area of school, and still others exist only "experimentally" in a small number of schools. As evinced in this example, the emergence of "non-specialist" roles of the school assistant type has occurred in the context of a general increase in the division of labour amoung education workers.

This report will give illustrations of how teacher' assistants or aides are utilised in some schools in a number of countries in North-Western Europe. The concern is with "non-specialist" assistants: those who are not trained to give support in certain subjects only and who do not perform tasks which the teachers themselves are unqualified for.

Three main rationales have been advanced for introducing such assistants in schools: (a) As shown by research on teacher activities, teachers spend a substantial proportion of their time on "house-keeping" jobs or on supervisory tasks which would seem to be below "the professional threshold". Assistants could be used to relieve teachers of non-professional work, enabling teachers to make more economical use of their time. (b) By helping to supervise acitivities pre-structured by the teacher, assistants can make possible a classroom style that stresses individualised learning and/or group work. (c) During the 1960's the great shortage of teachers in many countries led policy makers in some countries to search for ways of "making better use of the few teachers available". This context of a teacher shortage gave salience to the rationale of relieving teachers of routine jobs. At least in one case (IMU in Sweden), it was proposed to reduce the needs for teachers by introducing "materials-methods" systems in which one in three mathematics teachers could be replaced by (a less expensive) assistant.

1. THE CONTEXT IN THE SIXTIES: TEACHER SHORTAGE

In England and Wales, proposals to introduce teachers' assistants were repeatedly seen as a way to alleviate the shortage of teachers during the 1960's. Sir David Eccles, Minister of State for Education, broached the subject in May, 1962. In a House of Commons debate he argued the case for introducing assistants to alleviate the teacher shortage, saying that "There is actually no means of filling this gap with fully qualified teachers." In 1965, in the midst of the teacher shortage, Mr Crosland who then was the Minister of State for Education and Science, argued in favour of "auxiliaries"

in a speech to the National Union of Teachers and proposed that a uniform pattern of qualifications, training, and conditions of service should be set up for such personnel. Their main function would be to provide help inside and outside of teaching situations (Chapman, 1965: 5). The case was explicitly argued on educational grounds, but the context of teacher shortage was very evident in the way Crosland's proposal was received. An editorial in The Times Educational Supplement during the public debate in the wake of Crosland's proposal, criticised the negative stance taken by the National Union of Teachers, and claimed that the shortage of teachers was so great that the need could not be met even by 1975! (TES, 30 April, 1965.) In 1968, Mr Crosland returned to the issue of teachers' assistants and referred to the teacher shortage as one reason why assistants were needed. (TES, 7 May, 1968.)

The Plowden Report (1967) on English primary education argued the case for "teachers' aides" on pedagogical grounds, but stated also that: "... the continuous shortage of teachers and the increasing range of their duties have made the Department and the Local Education Authorities anxious to use [the services of assistants] more efficiently" (p.317). Other English publications during the sixties similarly saw the need for assistants in the context of teacher shortage - although other reasons were also given (McGeeney, 1969: 103).

In Sweden, the development of the IMU system (IMU = individualised mathematics teaching) at the end of the sixties was spurred by policy makers hoping they had found a way to make better use of the too few mathematics teachers then available, and to save on salaries to boot. In that system it was in the beginning hoped to replace 3 mathematics teachers by a team of 2 teachers and one teachers' assistant (Olsson, 1973: 27), increasing productivity in education by making it less labour intensive.

Understandably, the rationale of using assistants to alleviate teacher shortage has elicited opposition from teachers' unions. From a union's point of view, a "shortage" should be met by making the rewards of teaching more attractive and by training more teachers, not by supplementing the "too few teachers we have" with assistants. This fear of "dilution" has been especially salient in England and Wales even though the Plowden Commission took pains to stress that "teachers aides" should not be introduced at the expense of targets for the pupil-teacher ratio. Today, in the context of a surplus of qualified teachers, the case in Sweden, and England and Wales for assistants probably suffers because it was in the past raised as a remedy for teacher shortage rather than argued on pedagogic grounds alone. Conversely, in Scotland and Bavaria where pilot projects introducing assistants have enjoyed some support from local teachers' unions, policy makers seem to have taken great care to assuage fears that assistants could mean fewer teachers being employed. Nevertheless, there is some persisting anxiety among teachers about this. The Bavarian Ministry of Education found it necessary to issue a press report in 1976, stressing that "Pedagogische Assistenten" were not seen by the Ministry, and had not been seen, as a stop-gap solution to any shortage of teachers.

2. BACKGROUND RESEARCH - TIME SPENT BY TEACHERS ON "NON-PROFESSIONAL" TASKS

The argument that assistants could enable teachers to make more economical use of their time has been based on research showing that teachers devote a substantial proportion of their work time to "non-professional" tasks. The studies examined here are from England, Sweden, and Scotland.

A. "The Teacher's Day" in Surrey, England

The study was fielded in Surrey, a county south and south-west of London, by the National Foundation for Educational Research in 1969. The findings were based on school observations and teacher diaries. Altogether 141 junior

school teachers at 66 schools were approached, and 132 teachers agreed to cooperate with the project (Hilsum and Cane, 1971). Junior schools enrol pupils aged 7-11. One or two days of each teachers's work during the year were observed, and this material was supplemented by a questionnaire (e.g. concerning work done at home). The study aimed at a general mapping of the teacher's day, but some findings have special relevance for a consideration of how a teacher might be relieved by assistants.

i. The Assistance Provided: The School Helper and Lunch-time Supervisors

The extent to which findings on "the teachers's day" indicate a need for assistance must be seen against the amount of such assistance already provided in the Surrey schools. Each junior school in Surrey had in 1969 a "school helper" whose functions seemed to be: assisting with clerical work, supervising pupils in the playground and in the dining room, answering the school telephone, typing letters, collecting lunch money from pupils and checking the amounts, attending to sick children, fetching mothers in the case of illness, making appointments for parents, acting as a receptionist for parents and visitors, taping radio lessons, duplicating notes to parents, helping staff out with material for lessons, keeping stock, and helping out with organising school journeys (Hilsum and Cane, 1971: 35).

The schools were normally not given any separate secretarial or clerical staff. Therefore, the school helper had to cope with a very wide range of tasks. One would think that one "helper" per school would not suffice to make possible much assistance in teaching situations - even if the teachers had desired such assistance. The "Teacher's Day" study made no mention of such assistance by the helpers. In schools which are more generously supplied with secretarial staff and helpers, than these Surrey schools, there would seemingly be more scope for direct assistance to teachers, after "general school duties" have been taken care of (Cf. the case studies in Ch.III, below). All Surrey schools employed one or more "lunch-time supervisors" according to the number of pupils and other school circumstances. Their job is to supervise children during the meal and in the playground in the one-hour lunch break. The school helpers would also normally assist in such supervision, and teachers - who by national agreement are not required to work during the lunch break, would sometimes help out voluntarily - all under the overall supervision of the head teacher or the deputy head.

ii. Class Size

The size of a teacher's class presumably conditions a teacher's need for assistance. The pupil-teacher ratio in these schools was typically between 25 and 30, probably low by English standards at the time. However, the actual class size was larger, about 32 on the average. Half the classes had between 34 and 40 pupils. The reason for the larger actual class size is that most head teachers did not teach on a timetabled basis, and some teachers - especially part-time teachers - were specialists or remedial teachers working with small groups and not with a whole class.

iii. The Scope for Assistance in Classrooms - Some Relevant Findings

The time that teachers spent on various activities during teaching sessions was recorded. On the basis of 204 teacher-days observed, these data were obtained for the main activity categories, during an "average day" (p.56):

	Mean Time, Minutes	Standard Deviation	Percent of Class Time
Teaching	140.6	34.5	49.1
Organisation	65.8	20.3	23.0
Control and supervision	32.2	17.1	11.2
Clerical and mechanical	33.7	17.9	11.8
Pastoral	5.1	8.3	1.8
Private	6.4	5.8	2.2
Unrecorded	2.5	4.6	0.9

One striking feature of these findings is the large standard deviations, indicating either variation between teachers or from day to day in how individual teachers allocate their time. One might infer from this a need for considerable flexibility in any scheme that would attempt to relieve teachers of certain "non-professional" tasks. The most obvious candidate for such "non-professional" tasks, among those listed would be "control and supervision" and "clerical and mechanical", while "teaching" and "organisation" are presumably more professional tasks. Twenty-three per cent of the teacher's work during teaching sessions was devoted to "control and supervision" and "clerical and mechanical" work.

The classification of activity was devised in several stages, using the teachers' own description of their work as the starting point. In the end 55 categories were used, subsumed under the general headings in the tabulation above. "Control and supervision" would include the following: reprimanding a child or group, supervising pupils moving about a building, supervising when another teacher is in charge (e.g. assembly), patrolling the building or playground, invigilating during exams, looking after children moving between buildings. "Clerical and mechanical" included: copying lists of marks, marking the register, making out class lists, making, collecting, storing, and distributing equipment, and looking after additional equipment (e.g. physical training apparatus, film projectors, tape recorders, musical instruments, craft tools). Other activities might be: clearing out a cupboard, tidying the room, moving chairs or desks (p.27)

The time spent in class is only one part of a teacher's working day. The survey concluded that on the average, teaching sessions constitute no more than 58 per cent of a teacher's working day. Working during breaks and lunch added another 15 per cent. Fully 27 per cent of a teacher's work day was done outside of school hours (p. 89). However, the percentage of total work-time devoted to "control and supervision" and "clerical and mechanical" was about the same: 23.6 per cent. Viewed differently, these data would imply that a teacher on the average spends about 9½ hours each week on "control and supervision" and "clerical and mechanical" work. Of these about 5½ would be in class, and 1½ hours during the breaks. These figures are obtained for schools which already have one full-time helper who relieve teachers of some out-of-classroom work of this type.

Hilsum and Cane are understandably cautious about the extent to which teachers could be relieved of these activities: "... it is not suggested here that all these tasks recorded under the clerical/mechanical heading can be removed from the teacher and handed over to another person, or indeed that they should be so removed. Possibly some of these tasks are an intrinsic part of the teacher's job and removing them will create greater difficulties for the teacher than what exists already" (p 100). They examine in a separate chapter (ch.13) the topic of "teacher helpers" in depth, seeing how the scope for such helpers' work could be determined more precisely.

"Control" tasks were excluded from this in-depth analysis, they were felt to be more obviously part of the teacher's job. But "clerical", "mechanical", and "supervisory" tasks were examined more closely. Great variation was found

between teachers and/or days in the extent of time devoted to such activities and in the spacing of activities within a given day. This was especially true for "mechancial" tasks, the main category in terms of average time. Such "mechanical" tasks as distributing, collecting, and searching for equipment and material, or the making and preparation of equipment tend to be of short duration, interspersing other activities. The authors conclude that:

> "... the teacher's work was seen to be frequently broken up into small amounts of different activities which included both professional and non-professional tasks. In addition, the great variability that was observed in the times allocated to the different non-professional tasks from one day to another would increase the problem in operating a helper service, and these problems would be still further intensified if a group of teachers in a large school had to share the services of a single helper. Such difficulties render it most unlikely that all of each teacher's 101 minutes of non-professional tasks could be handled by an assistant, although careful selection of personnel, a close job description and appropriate training would probably ensure that the teacher was relieved of most of this type of work."

But they also acknowledge that:

> ".... the amount of mechanical and recording time actually observed undoubtedly represents only a portion of what might be done, and from this it is reasonable to hypothesise that given assistance, most teachers might want a great deal of this work carried out." (pp. 154-155).

This latter quotation alludes to a different perspective for looking at the role that assistants could play. Rather than simply enabling teachers to carry out an existing pedagogy more efficiently, the presence of an assistant in the classroom could be used to make possible a teaching style which is characterised precisely by those features that would make it difficult to render planned assistance from out-side the classroom: "With the trend towards informality in the classroom and individual and group instruction, the teacher may spontaneously decide, as a lesson proceeds, that certain material and equipment are needed, he may be unable to forecast precisely in advance how his pupils will develop a theme or project on which they are working" (p.151).

B. The Scottish Primary School Survey

This study was carried out by a team led by J Duthie. It was sponsored by the Scottish Education Department and the Nuffield Foundation. There was a consultative committee for the project consisting of persons having considerable experience and standing in education, school management, and work study research. The largest teachers' union was represented on the committee and was in this sense "involved" right from the beginning of the project. The objective of the study was to examine whether "there is a place for auxiliaries in the classroom as distinct from auxiliaries who would help with the administrative tasks which have to be discharged in the running of a school" (Duthie, 1970, x). By examining the structure of teachers' work activities the investigation provided the base for a later "feasibility study" or pilot project trying out proposals from the Primary School Survey. That feasibility study is examined in Chapter II, below. The Primary School Survey concluded that if auxiliaries undertook the duties identified in the survey, over the country as a whole there would be approximately 30 per cent of classroom time in which auxiliary help could be usefully employed in the primary schools (schools enrolling pupils aged 5-12 in Scotland).

As in the case of the English "Teacher's Day" research, the Scottish team developed their observation instruments in several stages. Also in this study, the technique was observation in classroom backed by limited use of interviews and questionnaires. The team worked in a randomly selected and representative

sample of all Scottish primary schools; 131 classrooms in 37 different schools were observed. The strategy was: "By systematically describing the teacher's role and by identifying those duties which do not require her full competence, it has been possible to define what it is that the auxiliary might usefully do" (p.4). A crucial task was then to determine "those duties which do not require her full competence". A number of more obvious candidates for such duties emerged during the early stages of rather unstructured classroom observation. Examples: "cloakroom duty, issuing lunch tickets, bringing in the children from the playground, accompanying children to the library and gymnasium, First Aid, maintenance and rehabilitation of equipment, registration" (p.8).

A list of such items provided the starting point, identified broadly as "housekeeping" duties by the investigators, and corresponding broadly to what in the English "Teacher's Day" study was called "mechanical and clerical" tasks. The Scottish study went further in that it classified - on the basis of observation - each "housekeeping" function according to how easily the functions might be "collected" to form a new occupational role. The reasoning was: "If such duties are to be undertaken by an auxiliary, it must be possible to organise them so that together they provide reasonably continuous employment. If each duty could be carried out at any time of the school day, little would be required in the way of organisation. On examination of the list of duties, however, it became clear that this was not the case. Some duties have to be done at a fixed time of day, others must occur within certain necessary time-limits, and so on" (p 8). Five analytical categories were developed because of the need to examine teachers' work in the light of possible alternative job designs:

Category A Duties which are fixed in the sense that they occur within certain necessary time limits (e.g. taking attendance, issuing meal tickets, distributing and clearing material in the classroom).

Category B Duties which are non-fixed in the sense that although they are observed to occur at a particular time of day, they could be allocated to another occasion (e.g., preparation during the school day, collection of lunch money, maintenance of audio-visual aids).

Category D Duties which occur at times which cannot be predicted and which cannot readily be allocated to other occasions. These duties are directly related to the educational activity of the teacher (e.g. distribution and clearing of materials in the classroom, collection and return of pupils' work, record keeping).

Category E Duties which occur at times which cannot be predicted, which cannot readily be allocated to other occasions, but which are not directly related to the educational activity of the teacher (e.g. accidents, lavatory supervision, lost and founds).

A different classification scheme was developed for functions which seemed less obvious duties for auxiliaries, than "housekeeping" duties. The aim was to distinguish from teaching itself, tasks which were closely tied up with teaching but which staffs other than trained teachers might be qualified to undertake. After some preliminary intuitive classification of such "further possible duties for auxiliaries", two types of duties of this type were identified: (a) duties which did not involve structuring of learning situations, and (b) affective situations in which a child requires emotional support or encouragement.

Examples of activities of the first type (not structuring or restructuring situations) would be: general supervision while children are engaged in activities and the teacher is dealing with a small group, keeping records of the progress of individual children under the general guidance of the teacher, helping pupils with minor problems in using materials - especially in activity groups, answering simple questions by children, acting as a buffer between the class and the teacher who is involved with a group to avoid unnecessary interruptions and queing.

The second type (affective situations) concerns problems of motivation and personal relationships in the class. Such situations were thought appropriate for helpers because teachers are unable to use all of these situations as an opportunity for educational activity. Examples would be: giving attention to child who brings work for admiration when the teacher is so busy that she is unable to give attention, encouraging children working in groups while the teacher works with individuals (p. 13).

For want of a better label, these two types of "further possible duties" were called "supervision". Teachers' classroom behaviour was then recorded on a minute-by-minute basis according to the "housekeeping" and "supervision" sub-classification.

In order to record the time spent by teachers outside of class on "housekeeping" duties, a checklist was used. Teachers were asked during interviews to estimate the time spent on different listed activities during the previous day (Interview days were rotated throughout the week). The checklist included such activities as: making expendable materials (work cards, charts, etc.), correspondence for obtaining project materials, obtaining, setting up, and clearing away audio-visual equipment, servicing mechanical equipment, typing, duplicating, supervision of various kind (corridors, stairs, lines, cloakrooms, playgrounds, lunchrooms), outside escorting, "wet day" supervision, organising parties, plays, parents evenings, exhibitions, visits, and outings (pp. 21 -22). Most of these duties were on examination found to be "non-fixed" in the sense that they need not occur at a particular time.

After a number of pilot studies devoted mainly to refining the observation instruments, the nationally representative sample of 131 classes was observed, one day in each class. As in the case of the English "Teacher's Day" study, the mean time and standard deviation of time were computed for each activity, but the classification of activities was in this case tailored to the purpose of suggesting job designs for "auxiliaries". The variability of time spent on different activities was striking also in this study; in the case of many activities the standard deviation exceeded the value of the mean. As in the English study, the design did not make possible any breaking down of this variation into variation between teachers in style, and variation between different days in the work of the teachers.

The statistics were computed separately for three stages of primary schooling in Scotland. No trend was found for housekeeping duties, but there was a clear pattern for time spent on "supervision" except in the very small schools of only one or two classroom groups (presumably in the rural periphery). In larger schools the average time a teacher devoted to "supervision" was 84 minutes in the infant department, 72 minutes in the junior department, and only 49 minutes per day in the senior stage. This presumably indicates a greater need in the early stages of primary education for assistance - given existing styles of teaching. No relationship was found with school size - except that there is obviously more scope for assistance in larger schools since they have more classes.

Duthie arrived at an estimate of the total scope for auxiliary work by following a deliberately conservative estimating procedure. If an auxiliary would be responsible for working for two or more teachers, it is possible that the times during which teachers require such assistance would coincide. In

estimating the scope for auxiliary work, the assumption was made that all duties which may clash do in fact clash. Thus, in schools with several classes (the normal situation except in very remote areas) a conservative estimate would be to assign to the auxiliary the time which only one teacher would devote to "fixed housekeeping" duties. Partly fixed and non-fixed duties were assumed to be capable of being organised not to clash. "Supervision" was assumed to "clash" in this sense, and time for only one class was added. Proceeding in this way one arrived at a ratio of 1 auxiliary to 3 teachers. If "supervision" were excluded, it was concluded that an average ratio of 1 auxiliary to 4 teachers would be justified. Acknowledging the variability between classes in time devoted to "housekeeping" and the need for flexible schemes to suit different school circumstances, Duthie proposed the ratio as a preliminary suggestion for what might be reasonable as a national average.

The report discussed different models for organising the use of auxiliary staff: (a) "On-call": the auxiliary being on-call in a central location within a school and helping teachers on a first-come,first-serve basis, (b) "Flexible timetable": the auxiliary is allocated to a specific teacher at a specific time but may be released to help other teachers if not needed, and (c) "Fixed timetable": where no such reallocation to other teachers is possible, (d) "Sharing": where a group of teachers in consultation with the auxiliary would decide how the auxiliary would be used for a given period. In general, Duthie suggests that fixed and semi-fixed housekeeping duties should be organised on a fixed time-table basis, that unfixed housekeeping duties probably are best carried out under a flexible timetable scheme, and that supervision duties probably would be best served normally by a sharing policy or on a flexible timetable basis. Concrete illustrations are given of how schools might organise the work of auxiliaries.

As to training, the report proposes a two-year course incorporating extensive practical work (reminiscent of the course for "teachers' aides" proposed by the Plowden Commission in England, cfr. Chapter III, section 1 C, below). At the same time, Duthie argues that formal qualifications should not be a prerequisite for entering auxiliary jobs.

The pilot project designed to try out the recommendations from the Scottish Primary School Survey is examined in Chapter II, section 4, below.

C Swedish Research on How Teachers Allocate Their Time

Swedish research has similarly indicated that a relatively high proportion of teachers' work time is devoted to clearly "non-professional" or semi-professional duties.

One study by Stukat and Engström (1967) was based on observations of 63 teachers chosen randomly from a large population of staff in the comprehensive "Basic School" (ages 7 to 16). Each teacher was observed for four class periods. The conclusion was that the average lesson consisted of 78 per cent "actual teaching", 3 per cent "attention to pupils and discipline", and 21 per cent "administration" - a category seemingly similar in content to Duthie's "housekeeping" and to "mechanical and clerical" in the English "Teacher's Day".

The SIA Report - from the Commission on the "inner work of the school" (SOU 1974:53), presents data showing that teachers in the Basic School devote much time to "certain service activities" (p.692). These data, collected previously for a report on the working conditions of teachers (the ULA Report, SOU 1971:53) show teachers in the lower stage of the school (children aged 7-9) devoting on the average about 253 work hours per year to these activities. The number of hours per teacher in the middle stage (children aged 10-12) was

292. In the upper stage (children aged 13-16) the estimated average was 307 hours per "subject teacher" (teacher of "academic" subjects). If one compares these figures with data presented elsewhere in the SIA Report on the average total work hours per year for these teacher categories (p.714), one would find that the time devoted to "certain service activities" would be 18 per cent for lower stage teachers and 20 per cent for teachers in the middle and upper stage. The "certain service activities" include preparing material for lessons and clearing away afterwards, keeping stock, correcting workbooks, constructing or procuring tests, correcting and evaluating tests, typing and duplicating, supervising during breaks and meals, and library work. The SIA Report is silent about whether assistants should be introduced to help teachers in classroom situations, but the information on "certain service activities" is presented under the rubric of "Assistant Tasks in the School". Some of these activities would seemingly correspond to what Duthie called "housekeeping" or "supervision". Others - such as constructing or procuring tests, correcting workbooks, and library work - would probably neither in the Scottish nor English study be classified as possible tasks for assistants.

D. General Comments

These studies show a high percentage of teachers' work time as an upper limit to what they could be "relieved of" if assistance were made available. In the Swedish research and in the "Teacher's Day" survey in England it is about 20 per cent. In the Scottish research which analyses activities more clearly in respect of how they could be "collected" into a job, the deliberately conservative estimate is higher, as implied by the proposed ratio of 1 assistant to 3 teachers (or 1 assistant to 4 teachers if "supervision" is thought not to be a suitable task for assistants).

While the provision of assistance in these studies is envisaged to enable teachers to concentrate more on core teaching functions (e.g. planning and organising learning situations), allowing them to make more economical use of their time, assistants are not explicitly seen as a provision that would facilitate a different pedagogic style in the classroom. But as evinced in the next section, facilitating pedagogic reform is another rationale for assistants - especially when assistants are envisaged to work directly under individual teachers rather than being concerned mainly with "general school duties".

3. ASSISTANTS AS A MEANS TO PEDAGOGICAL REFORM

Several pedagogic rationales have been advanced for introducing assistants:

(a) Assistants help to make possible the "informal" pedagogic style which is characterised by activity methods, group work, and individualised learning.

(b) There is the special case of parents coming in as assistant-volunteers. This could have the dual benefit of involving parents more strongly in their own child's education at the same time as it provides help to the school as a whole. (See Chapter III, Section 4, on Julian's Primary School for an illustration.)

(c) Assistants can be part of a team teaching according to a "materials-methods" system - especially since such systems sometimes generate more "mechanical and clerical" work.

The attempt - which has now be shelved - to switch to such a system in Sweden for the teaching of mathematics provides an example. (See Chapter II, 3. A on IMU). Assistants can also be envisaged to play the more modest role of providing audio-visual back-up to teachers. In this capacity their work blends into that of the technician (a "specialist" function).

A. Facilitating "Informal" Methods

In the Plowden Report - "Children and their Primary Schools. A Report of the Central Advisory Council for Education (England)", the proposal to introduce "teachers' aides" in primary schools was seen as integral to a change in pedagogic style. In 1967 when the report came, this change to "informal" methods was already under way. The Plowden Report gave further momentum to the change and provided something of an educational manifesto. The ethos of the Plowden Report may be found in this passage:

> "A school is not merely a teaching shop, it must transmit values and attitudes. It is a community in which children learn to live first and foremost as children and not as future adults... The school sets out deliberately to devise the right environment for children, to allow them to be themselves and to develop in the way and at the pace appropriate to them. It tries to equalise opportunities and to compensate for handicaps. It lays special stress on individual discovery, on first hand experience, and on opportunities for creative work. It insists that knowledge does not fall into neatly separate compartments and that work and play are not opposite but complementary." (p.187)

The practice described in Plowden, reflecting this ethos, often means that groups or individual children will be working with different material or at a different pace in the same classroom. The first function listed for "teachers' aides" is to be the "extra pair of hands" needed in a classroom working according to "informal" methods:

> "Help that amounts to an extra pair of hands for the teacher. Young children working as individuals or in small groups need encouragement and help in their play, their reading and other activities. They want stories read to them and several groups and many children want help at the same time. The teacher can only tend one at a time. Other children, individually or in groups, use visual aids, tape recorders and simple learning machines; they can learn on their own, but not without help. Teachers' aides can accompany teachers and children on out of school expeditions and maintenance of materials and equipment". (p.330)

Kennedy and Duthie (1975) in the feasibility study based on the Scottish Primary School Survey (Cf. Chapter II. 4, below) similarly argue that "in a primary teacher's room, especially when 'activity' methods and an open atmosphere are encouraged, auxiliaries can be very useful".

A pedagogic rationale of a related kind is also very evident in a Bavarian pilot-project on the introduction of Pädagogische Assistenten ("Pedagogic Assistants") in an increasing number of schools (See Chapter II, below, section 1). One aim in Bavaria is to relieve teachers of "routine" chores, but the assistants are also intended to give needed back-up to group work and individualised learning (Hartmann, 1974: 22).

Using assistants has sometimes been part of the educational approach to handicapped children or to children in poverty areas, in order to give such children more individual attention and to ease the work of teachers. In some countries, non-specialist assistants are only found in schools for handicapped children. Thus, in Finland, "in the education of the deaf, the blind, cerebral palsy-children, and mentally retarded children it is common to use a kind of teacher's assistant who help the children and give all kinds of practical assistance. These assistants have no special training, apart from usually having attended a short course in the education and care of handicapped children".* In England

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* Communication from the Secretary for Cultural Affairs, Department of International Relations, Finnish Ministry of Education.

and Wales, such assistance is commonly given by trained "nursery assistants" in special education institutions. In addition to the practical help which children with certain handicaps needs, there are in such institutions special needs for individual guidance. The presence of an assistant allows the teacher to give individual tuition more easily. In Chapter III, 3, an account is given of how the assistant and teacher work together in one special education unit.

In ordinary schools assistants are sometimes seen as an extra resource for children from poverty areas or linguistic minority groups. In Bavaria, among the criteria to be used in allocating "pedagogic assistants" to schools are "many children of foreign workers" and "other difficult school conditions". In Sweden, both municipalities and the central government make extra resources available for schools in "different areas" and some of these special resources have been used to employ organisers and leaders of leisure activities in after-school hours. Since 1973 a number of part-time "pupil assistants" (usually school students themselves) have been employed in some urban schools in socially deprived areas. Their role is to act as a protective older brother or sister, especially for anxious or vulnerable children. It would be part of their job to accompany children to various destinations such as the bus, dentist, and physical education. They also help in the playground, as an extra hand on excursions, and the like (National Board of Education, 1976: pp 68-69).

The Plowden Report recommended in England that extra resources be given to schools in deprived areas (Educational Priority Areas). Among the extra resources given to such areas today are more favourable staffing ratios - for teachers and "assistants" or "helpers" alike. In many English local education authorities, a high proportion of immigrant children (with special language difficulties) is another criterion used to decide allocation of "welfare assistants" or "primary helpers" to schools. Sometimes, special efforts are made to recruit volunteer assistants for work in schools in Educational Priority Areas. Bond (1974: p. 9) gives an example from Liverpool of volunteers (not necessarily parents of the pupils) working alongside a child or with small groups of children, under the teacher's direction.

In some cases - the Liverpool project for example - assistants in schools having especially "needy" children make possible a pedagogic style aimed at their special needs. In other cases they would not be used in structured learning situations at all. But the underlying rationale is pedagogic in either case: assistants are seen as intrinsic to a greater educational effort aimed at especially needy children.

B Parents as Helper-Volunteers

Especially in England and Wales, there is a minority of schools which encourage parents to help in classrooms as volunteers. Julian's Primary School described in Chapter III is an outstanding example. The double objective is to involve parents in the education of their own children and to obtain extra help in the work of the school. The Plowden Report emphasises very strongly the need for home and school cooperation and commented approvingly on parents helping to build school facilities or raising funds for extra equipment. Since Plowden, a number of English publications have reported and recommended more extensive forms of parental involvement - including help in the classroom.

One head teacher of a school with an "open door to parents" policy has written several books on the experience of parental involvement, giving detailed examples of extensive contributions and seemingly without the teachers feeling that their professional domain is "invaded" (Bond, 1973 and 1974). Bond cites inadequate provision of paid assistance as one reason why parental help is

needed (1974: p.6) but also sees such assistance as part of a wider open-doors policy. By involving parents in the work of the school, even if only a small group comes in regularly, all parents are presumably encouraged to take an interest in their children's schooling and to see the teachers as approachable persons. Helping the school strengthens the parents' sense of identity with the school. Cave (1970: p.70) in an account of a project organised by the Institute of Community Studies in Bethnal Green, East London, emphasised that also practical assistance to the school (painting, mending, sewing, etc.) can be important in this respect.

C To Provide Materials and Equipment Support

Providing support in respect of audio-visual equipment is another envisaged task for assistants. Plowden mentions this. It is stressed in the Bavarian pilot-project (Hartmann, 1974). Teachers are also said to need help with the handling of increasingly diversified educational materials, e.g. curriculum "packages" of various kinds (Beer and Selzle, 1973). In higher pre-structured materials-methods systems assistants are sometimes envisaged to play an important part. The account of the IMU project in Sweden exemplifies this role. In such systems, the task of teacher and assistant alike is structured to an unusual extent by the pupils' learning materials.

CHAPTER II

PILOT PROJECTS ON THE USE OF TEACHERS' ASSISTANTS

What follows in this chapter are some illustrations of pilot projects or "experiments" involving the use of "non-specialist" assistants in some Western European countries. It is not an exhaustive listing. The selection and depth of treatment depends very much on the extent of source material made available. A more extensive search would undoubtedly have made it possible to include a section on France. France has a well established system of specialist assistants. There are in French secondary schools several grades of laboratory technician, ranging from the garçon de laboratoire to the technicien principal de laboratoire. There are also several grades of surveillant ("supervisor") whose work is seemingly more focused on invigilation and less on welfare functions than "school helpers" or "assistants" in English schools. Also, the non-specialist "helpers" in English schools are largely confined to primary schools, while the surveillant is based in secondary schools.

According to a note in the Times Educational Supplement in 1965 (21 May, p. 1595), the surveillant is a member of the administrative staff and spends about 30 hours a week at the school. He or she is often a student who has to work for a living. The functions of the surveillant includes: "paper work, entering up absences and marks, supervising arrivals and departures and break-times, and invigilating over classes when teachers are absent. Even though on duty, the surveillant can usually spend a good deal of time studying".

The projects examined below are from Germany, Norway, Sweden and Scotland. The cases differ in the extent to which they are isolated "experiments". Only in Scotland and perhaps in the two German Länder is there an apparent policy commitment to generalise the use of assistants. There is no such commitment in Norway and Sweden.

1. GERMAN PROJECTS

In the Federal Republic of Germany there was during the 1960's at times a lively public debate about the merits of introducing assistants in schools. In the end both the German Educational Council and the joint commission of states and the federal government on educational planning recommended that "school assistants" be introduced to assist in the "administrative", "technical" and "pedagogic" domains. Given the increasing scale of schooling and the widened task of teachers, it was felt that assistants would enable teachers to make more productive use of their time (Deer and Selzle, 1973).

Two pilot projects (Modellversuche) are now underway, one in Lower Saxony and one in Bavaria, developing training programmes for assistants and gaining experience from their utilisation. The Federal Ministry for Education and Science participates in the finance and evaluation of these projects.

A. Lower Saxony

The assistants in Lower Saxony are called Schulassistenten (School assistants), a title which reflects a deliberately restricted definition of their task. They are not to assist in teaching situations primarily, but are intended to give other support to individual teachers and to perform a variety of tasks for the school as a whole. In the beginning, assistants were employed without any special training, but a training programme has now been developed. Consistent with the rather restricted definition of their function, a thin coverage is intended. The aim is to provide one full-time assistant for every large school. Small schools are to be given part-time assistance.

Their status and duties have become more firmly defined during their few years of existence. They now have the status of State Civil Servants (State = the Land in this case, not the federal government), which guarantees security of employment. They have been expressly enjoined from encroaching on the occupational domain of either the school secretary or the custodian in a Ministerial Decree of 20.11.1972. The decree emphasises that their task is to "relieve head teachers and teachers of administrative work, technical work, and certain supervisory functions". But they are not allowed to "teach" (Unterricht erteilen) or to "lead work groups" (Arbeitsgemeinschaften leiten). The decree lists twenty-nine examples of approved tasks, under the rubrics of administrative, technical, and supervisory functions (in translation):

Administrative

1. Looking after school collections, teaching material, equipment, and the library.
2. Purchasing and keeping office and work material in so far as this is not done by outside agencies.
3. Checking bills.
4. Keeping inventories, cataloguing.
5. Keeping lists and files, preparing school statistics.
6. Attending to applications for grants.
7. Matters concerning school transport.
8. Matters concerning accidents and insurance of pupils.
9. Organising special gymnastics events, medical examinations, vaccination days, etc.
10. Checking that requirements are satisfied when pupils are excused from physical education.
11. Helping to prepare rules for pupils' use of bicycles.
12. Preparation for walking-tours, visits to firms, testing of cycling skills, sports events, parent evenings, etc.

Technical

1. Supplying teachers with needed materials.
2. Setting up technical equipment for demonstration purposes.
3. Maintaining and operating technical apparatus and equipment.
4. Making rooms and work places ready for teaching sessions.
5. Preparing needed quantities of materials.
6. Recording educational television and radio programmes.
7. Liaising with AV-centres for the purpose of procuring materials and aids.
8. Advising the school on the purchase of equipment.

Supervisory

1. Assisting in supervision during walking-tours, sports events, and educational visits of various kinds.
2. Supervision during breaks.
3. Supervising pupils learning to bicycle (Fahrschüler).
4. Supervising during programmed learning.
5. Supervising groups working on short assignments.

6. Escorting pupils to school events, playing fields, etc.
7. Supervising children during school medicals, vaccinations, etc.
8. In day schools, supervision during lunch and independent study.
9. Supervising boarding school pupils.

Only very exceptionally are the school assistants envisaged to play a direct part in a structured learning situation where they would work under a teacher's direction. The carefully limited role assigned to assistants has undoubtedly made it easier for the scheme to win the approval of the Lower Saxony branch of the main primary teachers' union, the GEW (Gewerkschaft Erziehung und Wissenschaft), in spite of the sceptical stance of the federal-level GEW organisation.

B. Bavaria

The assistant's role is more widely conceived in the Bavarian pilot project, as evinced by the occupational designation of Pädagogischer Assistent (pedagogic assistant) which suggests direct assistance in the pedagogic process as a core task. The policy has been to develop an unusually thorough training programme before and alongside the introduction of assistants into school. Training institutes for assistants were established already in 1970 at four Schools of Education (Pädagogischen Hochschulen). The project has expanded steadily, but the number of trained assistants is still small. In 1976/77 there were in Bavaria 523 fully trained PAs (PA = pedagogic assistant). In addition there are 452 in Preparatory Service, and 604 student-assistants at the training institutions.

In 1972 a decree from the Bavarian Ministry of Education set out the task, status, and required training of the PAs. The PA was to provide support for teachers in primary schools and non-selective secondary schools, during the preparation and implementation of teaching in the areas of "organisation, teaching materials and media, and other measures to facilitate learning". The PA should also work with groups of pupils, with special reference to such activities as: einprägen, üben, anwenden (literally: imprinting, practising, applying). Further, the PA was given responsibility for certain duties concerning the welfare of pupils or groups of pupils. Finally, the PA should assist in administrative work and in activities related to special school events. The decree also placed the PAs in a relatively high career category for salary purposes (Laufbahngruppe des gehobenen Dienstes).

A rather long training and probation period was established. In order to become "Pedagogic Assistant Official on Probation", the intending PA has to attend a full-time course for two years, and to complete three years of practice. Also, there are several examinations to be completed successfully during these years of training. The steps are the following:

1. Basic Course (1 year = two semesters)

To be eligible for admission, applicants need to have completed a lower secondary examination (Mittlere Reife), a level of qualifications reached by less than half of young persons in Bavaria today. Also, the applicant must not be above 32 years of age. A special entrance examination is used to select students from among qualified applicants. The curriculum in the Basic Course includes:

- Basic questions in educational theory.
- Basic principles of developmental psychology.
- Practical pedagogy.
- A survey of the aims and content of the school subjects.

- The use of educational media and other aids.
- The tasks and duties of assistants and teachers.
- German, social studies, and (if desired) English.

There is an examination at the end of this year of full-time study.

2. School Practice (1 school year)

The practice year is organised so that the trainee is given experience with children of different ages. During the year, the PA trainee attends some seminar days, and there is a one-week session at his training institution.

3. The Final Course (1 year = two semesters)

During the Final Course the curriculum includes:

- Current issues in education.
- Elementary aspects of the psychology of learning.
- Didactics for the Volkschule (primary and non-selective secondary school) with special reference to German and mathematics teaching.
- Didactics in an area chosen by the student. The options are: primary education, and mathematics-science or socio-cultural subjects in the secondary stage, with special reference to applying educational media.
- First Aid, traffic education, media techniques, blackboard techniques.
- For PAs preparing for primary education: courses in music, art, and physical education.
- German, social studies, and (optionally) English.

At the end of the course the students sit for the First Assistants Examination. Those succeeding may enter the preparatory service.

4. Preparatory Service (2 years)

Those passing the First Assistants Examination are appointed "assistant candidate". The preparatory service is in the area of specialisation chosen in the Final Course. During this period, the candidate is given a full "training day" each week. Some of these days are devoted to a seminar organised by the training institution. The preparatory period is concluded with the Second Assistants Examination. Those passing this final hurdle will, after 4 years, be appointed "Pedagogic Assistant Official on Probation" (Pädagogischer Assistent Beamte auf Probe)!

The weekly timetable of the Bavarian PAs is regulated by a decree issued by the Ministry in 1973. It states that the work week should consist of 42 hours distributed as follows: (a) 20 hours providing direct assistance in teaching sessions; (b) 6 hours devoted to clerical/administrative tasks and in the care of technical equipment; (c) 7 hours for support to teachers before and after teaching sessions, and (d) 9 hours a week to be used at the head teacher's discretion. This timetable seems to express a policy commitment to using PAs mainly in structured learning situations. The decree also specifies that the direct assistance to teachers should be timetabled, ensuring continuity from one week to the next. Thus, officially the assistant is not to be mainly an "on-call" person doing odd jobs. This seemingly wide conception of the PA's pedagogic function is in keeping with their long preparation and with the curricular emphasis in the Basic Course and Final Course.

The assistants are to work under a teacher's direction, but one wonders if the thorough training of assistants and the aspirations naturally fostered by their four years of preparation, will not lead to "demarkation disputes" with teachers - especially in the future when very experienced assistants sometimes will find themselves working under teachers fresh from training.

There are some signs that the combination of several years of training and a role clearly subordinate to the teacher leads to some frustration among the PAs. Some PAs would like opportunities for further qualifications that could give them a more autonomous role. But no such opportunities exist and to assuage uneasy teachers the Ministry of Education in Bavaria stressed in a 1976 press release that the PA is not to replace the ones he is trained to assist. It is not a status that after years of experience and further courses could be converted into the status of a teacher. Being a PA is no Durchgangsberuf (transit occupation) towards becoming a teacher.

An article written by a PA in Schulreport - an official journal of the Bavarian Ministry of Education, has a clear undertone of frustrated aspirations (Hartman, 1974). The article is entitled: "Partner des Lehrers, nicht Mädchen für alles" (A Teacher's Partner - not a handmaiden for odd jobs). It emphasises that the main task of the PA should be pedagogic rather than relieving the teacher of routine chores; and that a role of a teacher's partner is warranted by both the training and status classification in the civil service held by PAs. The author argues that "Experience clearly indicates that cooperation between teacher and PA is only conceivable on a collegial, partnerlike level", and that this cooperation should begin in the planning of teaching sessions because ends and means in education ought not to be decided on separately. Nevertheless, the author concedes (almost reluctantly) that the teacher should have greater authority in questions of planning because of his greater competence. While the author sets out such high ambitions for the work of the PAs, he also notes disapprovingly that they have in practice ended up working more with clerical jobs and other chores outside of classrooms than they were intended to do by the Ministry; and he warns against this dilution of the occupational concept.

The likelihood of demarcation tensions between teachers and well-trained assistants is presumably reduced when their activities are physically separated and the assistant is given a defined task to carry out rather autonomously. Hein (1975) gives an account of how the assistant in one Bavarian Volkschule - the school of which he is the head teacher, has been given such defined tasks in a separate physical space. He says that the PA in his school coped competently with teaching a small group on her own, but that help given directly to a teacher in a class did not function very satisfactorily. In the classroom and under direct supervision of the teacher, the PA ended up playing a mostly passive role. This reportedly "passive" role included: preparing maps, setting up technical apparatus, controlling homework, and supervising students working quietly on their own! The teachers did not find the PA's assistance to be "very productive" either. Hein's report suggests that the presence of a PA in the classroom did not in any way change the teacher's style of working. The impression conveyed is one of conventional class teaching. In this situation, it was decided at this school that the PA was to work autonomously with small groups of pupils (no more than 10 pupils), an arrangement which requires "close cooperation" with the class teachers. Hein reports that teachers find the PA competent at her job and that her work is "productive" - although planning the activities of the PA means extra work for the teachers.

It is impossible to assess the success of the Bavarian project from a distance and on the basis of the material available. The training scheme should presumably enable the PAs to do a very competent job. The unanswered question is whether their aspirations for a partnership relation with teachers will lead to tensions, especially as the PAs grow older and become more experienced. One would think that the result would depend on the extent to which PAs are assigned

to work only with teachers who desire assistance. Tensions with teachers could arise if assistants are eager to assume pedagogic functions that teachers are reluctant to concede, or if teachers are eager to be relieved of clerical and housekeeping chores that PAs feel would be "below" the role that they are capable of performing. From a distance, the Bavarian pilot project would seem to pose the need to not only ensure that assistants are well enough trained for their job, but also to ensure that they are not too well trained to work in an assistant capacity.

2. NORWEGIAN PROJECTS

During the 1972-74 period a pilot project was carried out in five Norwegian municipalities in order to "determine which of the teachers' tasks could be performed by auxiliary personnel", to find the extent to which such assistance would enable the teacher to save time, and how the teacher would make use of the extra time given him by the assistance provided. Ten schools were involved in the project. The schools covered the entire range of compulsory education (age 7 to 16) which in Norway is fully "comprehensivised". The assistants employed had varying types of educational background, but a frequent one was experience and training in office work. The impression is that they were employed without much special preparation for work as a teacher's assistant.

The assistant-teacher ratio in the project was about 1 to 10. Altogether 28 assistants were employed, 19 full-time and 9 part-time (Forsök i skolen 1974, 1975: 18-19). A study of how the assistant's time was allocated gave this distribution:

Type of work performed	Estimated per cent of total work time devoted to each activity.
Assisting the teacher in work with pupils	12.9
Supervising pupils on special assignments	7.0
Assisting in the use of educational aids and media	7.6
Preparing and supplying books and other teaching resources	7.5
Correcting assignments	5.0
Supervising, "inspecting" (during breaks, etc.)	3.7
The school library	4.0
"Office-technical work" for teachers, copying, preparing stencils, making up lists, etc.	45.0
Other tasks	7.3

Though the assistants were not formally employed to act as clerical/secretarial help, they seem to have functioned very much in that capacity. Only about 20 per cent of their time was spent assisting in a structured learning situation. (12.9 + 7.0 per cent.) The report does not state the extent to which the schools were previously provided with secretarial help. However, a recent study by Vestre (1974) on a nation-wide sample of teachers in the same type of school showed only 35 per cent thought they had "adequate" secretarial help, and that fully 34 per cent said their school had no such help at all (p.160). Perhaps we here simply have cases of assistants being drawn into doing mostly secretarial/clerical work because of inadequate "normal" provision for such work. Clearly, the function of assistants cannot be considered in isolation, but against the background of functions performed by other non-teaching staff.

According to a questionnaire survey, both head teachers and the teachers' councils at the schools involved in the project gave an overwhelmingly positive evaluation of their assistant's work. But their approval was more fully unqualified in respect of clerical chores than with regard to pedagogic or super-

visory functions. This would parallel teacher attitudes in other countries: relief in respect of "routine chores" is more welcome than assistance in areas closer to the professional threshold.

At the end of the "experimental period", the State Council for Innovation in Education recommended to the Ministry of Education that municipalities be allowed to employ assistants on a regular basis. However, the finance of such staff proved controversial. The "experiments" had been funded 50 per cent by a special grant and 50 per cent out of funds normally earmarked for teachers' salaries. The teachers' union agreed unenthusiastically to this funding "in order not to obstruct what was clearly an experiment". After the completion of the "experiments", the teachers' union refused any provision which could mean that assistants would be introduced at the expense of teaching hours. The proposal has therefore been shelved in Norway.

3. SWEDISH PROJECTS

Since 1950, Sweden has led the way in Western Europe in developing comprehensive forms of secondary school. The strategy has been reform under strong central direction, backed up by extensive research and development work (Maclure, 1971). Among the great many centrally monitored <u>försök</u> (pilot projects or "experiments" in the trying-out sense), a few have involved the use of "teachers' assistants". In addition, some municipal school authorities have employed on a more regular basis non-specialist assistants to help out with certain out-of-classroom welfare functions ("school hostesses", "leisure organisers", "pupils' assistants").

The comprehensive "Basic School" forms the base of the education ladder, covering the entire range of compulsory schooling: age 7-16. It is not only "comprehensive" in the sense of including all children of school age in a catchment area. It is also "comprehensive" in its internal organisation in that pupils devote nearly all their school time to a common curriculum. The scope for subject options constitutes only about 15 per cent of the timetable for the 13-16 year-olds. The extent of self-streaming of pupils has been much reduced over the years. The school may not "select" pupils for different curriculum alternatives, but pupils may in the top grades of the basic school choose between a general course and a special course (advanced course) in mathematics, English, and German (German is an optional subject). The Swedish authorities have only very reluctantly allowed ability grouping within subjects to persist in this reduced form. Much research and development work has been devoted to the extension of mixed ability teaching - in Swedish terms, the change from "organisational differentiation" to "pedagogic differentiation". Pilot projects involving "teachers' assistants" have aimed at a pedagogy suitable for mixed ability teaching. The difficulties in implementing mixed ability teaching have been greatest in secondary education (from age 13 on), and projects involving assistants have been based in secondary schools.

The need for "non-specialist" assistants should be seen against the context of pupil-teacher ratios and existing provision of other support staff. In Sweden - as in Norway, comprehensivation of lower secondary education was accompanied by a reduction in the number of "over-sized" classes. As of 1960/61 fully 30 per cent of Swedish classes (within compulsory education) had more than 30 pupils. In 1972/73 this proportion had been brought down to only 1.6 per cent, according to the SIA Report (SOU 1974: 58 p545). The average size of a classroom group is very low in Sweden. In 1972/73 it was 21 pupils in the lower department of the Basic School (ages 7-9), 24 pupils in the middle department, and 27 in the upper department (ages 13-16).

There is in Swedish education a growing list of "specialists" and "non-specialists" performing various support functions. The table below, based on data in the SIA Report (p.666), gives a rough impression of the extent of coverage of some non-teaching functions as of 1973.

STAFF CATEGORY	PART-TIME	FULL-TIME	TOTAL	A NATIONAL AVERAGE: HOW MANY TEACHERS TO ONE SUPPORT - PERSON?
Support staff:				
School meal supervisors	13,544	1	13,545	7
Office staff (secretarial)	2,412	2,847	5,259	18
Teacher-librarians	3,000		3,000	32
Librarians	57	28	85	1,118
Teacher-counsellors	986	2	988	96
Counsellors	3	30	33	288
School welfare officers	264	296	560	170
School hostesses (or hosts)	549	6	555	171
School psychologists	171	191	372	255
Technicians (science, language lab.)	9	349	358	265
Teachers' assistants	191	10	201	473
Leisure activity pedagogues	10	49	59	1,610
Youth leaders	25	10	35	2,714
Teachers: (full-time equivalents)			about 95,000	

The column to the right in the table is computed on the basis of the data found in the SIA Report. The ratio is a crude index of the extent of support staff provision. Part-time and full-time support staff are counted equally in computing the ratio. In that sense it gives an exaggerated impression of extent of coverage for support functions which are mainly part-time and combined with a teaching job. Some functions serve an area of schools (e.g. school psychologist, school welfare officer), the others usually serve one school only, or a few schools. Many of these services are provided in a small minority of schools, as evinced indirectly by the high teacher to support-staff ratio for the nation as a whole (e.g. leisure activity leader, youth leader). The table shows that "teachers' assistants" and "school hostesses" are not very common in Swedish schools. Nearly all such staff are part-time. There are more than twice as many hostesses as assistants, even though hostesses have been paid entirely out of municipal funds while assistants have been financed out of a state-provided "reinforcement resource" that municipalities have available for the upper stage of the Basic School (ages 13-16).

Because "teachers' assistants" in Sweden are paid out of a "reinforcement resource" which could locally be used for a variety of purposes, including more teaching hours, assistants and teachers compete for the same budgetary item. Although this flexible "reinforcement resource" is very small compared to the fixed resources used to pay for teaching hours, teacher unemployment has in recent years led muncipalities to increasingly use the flexible resource entirely for more teaching hours. A school survey carried out in 1975 (National Board of Education, 1975: 8-9) shows this very clearly. In the 1972-74 period nearly all the "extra resource" was used for extra teaching hours, in the country as a whole. The previously very small proportion devoted to employing assistants had by 1973/75 been reduced to practically zero. The table above therefore gives an exaggerated impression of present employment of teachers' assistants in Swedish schools. Nevertheless, most schools having had the experience of an assistant report "favourable impressions" but teaching staffs feel that with teacher unemployment, all the available "extra resource" should go towards employing more teachers.

"School hostesses" are paid entirely out of municipal funds (which cannot be used for extra teaching hours). Because they do not compete with teachers financially, their employment is not influenced by the desire to provide jobs for teachers. The number of school hostesses has probably increased in recent years. Assistants are confined to the upper stage of the basic school, but school hostesses work in all three stages of the school. The work of hostesses and assis-

tants overlap considerably; but while the assistants to some extent assist in teaching situations, the hostesses' task is more slanted towards welfare functions. Surveys reported in the SIA Report (p. 283) showed that hostesses performed functions like the following (though there might be variation between schools):

- Looking after the school library
- Supervision during meals and breaks
- Assisting teachers during excursions, visits, swimming lessons, etc.
- Preparing and supplying books and materials for teaching sessions
- Helping pupils who have lost or forgotten something
- Escorting pupils to the dentist, attending to minor cuts and bruises
- Clerical and routine work related to "freely chosen activities" (a curriculum component usually involving hobbies or expressive activities)
- Leisure activities for pupils.

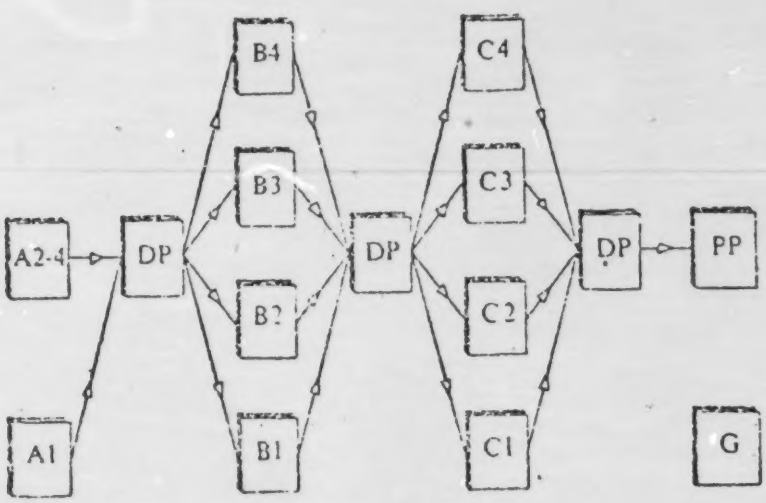
These examples seem very similar to the tasks usually performed by "school helpers" or "welfare assistants" in the schools of England and Wales (cf. Chapter III).

The SIA Report notes that assistants and hostesses often perform a similar role and that the difference in name is largely one of administrative designation. In terms of background and experience, assistants and hostesses are reported to be similar, presumably nearly all of them women and with some form of lower secondary and/or secretarial course in many cases, but normally not with any formal education preparing for their particular function.

A. The IMU Project - Individualised Mathematics Teaching

The methods-material system IMU (individualised mathematics teaching) was developed for grades 7-9 (ages 13-16) in the Basic School. The aim was to make it possible to teach mathematics in a completely individualised way to this age group, by means of self-correcting learning materials which enabled pupils to work at different speeds and levels. The project was expensive and large scale. During 1968-71 it involved about 12,000 pupils and 400 teachers and assistants in 81 schools throughout Sweden.

The entire IMU programme covered a three-year course. Each year's course consisted normally of 3 modules, and each module consisted of 6-8 booklets or components, each of 50-150 pages (cf. OECD, 1974: p.114). The structure of one module is illustrated below:



(Source: OECD, 1974: p.115).

Component A is common to all pupils, but each pupil works at his own pace and takes a diagnostic test at the end of the component (DP). Guided by the test-score, the teacher then helps the pupil select an appropriately difficult booklet for component B. After B, there is another diagnostic test, and then a booklet to be chosen in the same manner in component C. At the end of each module there is a test (PP), after which pupils proceed to the next module which would be structured similarly. The latest versions of IMU also included material for group activities (G) as well as tape-recordings for review purposes and to give pupils more exposure to "oral mathematics". The very large number of modules and components meant that pupils could proceed through the course in a great many different ways and at different pace. A teacher's manual set out the recommended method for any module.

The manual describes the envisaged typical lesson in the staffing situation which from the beginning was favoured by the National Board of Education: a team of 2 teachers and 1 assistant who would be responsible for a large group of 3 ordinary classroom groups - nearly 90 pupils. According to the book, the team would meet regularly to plan the work in each teaching session: the tests to be administered, the extent of small group teaching (of pupils at roughly the same stage), the material to be distributed to different pupils, etc. The assistant would serve as the team's secretary, noting decisions, etc. Before each lesson, the assistant prepares the needed material. During the lesson, she would check attendance (90 pupils!), distribute and collect material, supervise pupils taking diagnostic tests, and noting the pupils' progress and the extent of homework done. The assistant should be sufficiently familiar with the material to answer simple questions, or she would refer questions to the teachers. Meanwhile, teachers circulate among the pupils, helping those in difficulties, checking the work, encouraging pupils, discussing test results with them and helping them to choose sections for revision, the next component, etc. One of the teachers might also be busy teaching a small group. After the lesson, the assistant would collect and arrange the material. Before next team meeting, she would correct diagnostic tests and up-date records of progress made by each pupil. In addition, there may be various clerical jobs such as xeroxing, cutting stencils needed by teachers for small group teaching etc. At the next meeting (once a week was thought appropriate for a team), teachers would discuss their experience, survey the students' progress, and plan the next lessons (OECD, 1974: 8-10). This is the way IMU was expected to work. In reality, there was a trend to use the IMU system for smaller groups than the envisaged large classes of nearly 90 pupils. There was also a tendency to use a lower pupil-teacher ratio than envisaged. And the assistants came to assume wider pedagogic functions than anticipated.

Because students would be working at different pace and with different booklet sequences, and because of the frequent tests which had to be scored, IMU generated more "housekeeping" work than normal mathematics teaching. Assistants were intended to carry out such routine work and to collect and process information as a basis for teacher decisions, enabling the teachers to devote their time to individual and group tuition. The IMU material was much more expensive than material used in normal teaching. By employing 2 teachers and one (less expensive) assistant rather than 3 teachers for a group of nearly 90 pupils, the Swedish authorities still hoped that IMU would be cheaper than normal mathematics teaching. There was also at the time a great shortage of mathematics teachers which IMU was envisaged to alleviate if adopted for the country as a whole. At the same time the hope was that it would provide a solution for mathematics teaching in mixed ability classes, as late as at age 16. A further hope was that similar systems could be developed in other subjects, especially foreign languages. These high hopes held by the national educational authorities in the early stages of IMU influenced the tenor of the national curriculum for the Basic School, which was issued in 1969. Thus, the use of teachers' assistants was by Swedish policy makers seen as intrinsic to a pedagogical strategy for individualised

learning that would make it possible to abolish courses of different levels of difficulty in certain subjects at the same time as it would help alleviate shortage of teaching staff and possibly even cut costs.

In reality, IMU was tried out according to a variety of staffing models - only some of which included an assistant. Sometimes only one teacher would work with IMU in a class of nearly 30 pupils. Or two teachers would work jointly with a group of 60. The model of a large class of nearly 90 pupils taught jointly by a team was tried out in only 1/3 to 1/4 of the schools involved. Sometimes an assistant would be added to the normal staffing provision of one teacher per 30 pupils rather than replacing a teacher. It was deliberate policy to try different models for IMU though the authorities hoped that a team of two teachers and one assistant would be a workable solution for the country as a whole. The following account is based on findings reported in research at the Malmö School of Education, the institution which provided research follow-up of the project.

Most of the assistants employed in IMU had some kind of commercial/ secretarial training. Practically all of them were women, while 80 per cent of the teachers involved were men. Some assistants had in fact previous teaching experience. As of 1971, 8 per cent had at least 3 years of teaching experience (presumably as an unqualified teacher). There was even the rare case of a teachers' certificate or a university degree. As a group they were older than the teachers they worked with: 53 per cent of them were below age 40 compared to 79 per cent of the teachers (Alehammer and Klasson, 1972b: p.23).

Since IMU generated more routine work than normal teaching, the presence of an assistant was crucial for whether IMU would involve more or less routine work for the teacher. It was found that teachers working alone with IMU spent considerably more time on routine chores than teachers in a team involving an assistant (Martinsson, 1972: 35; Larson, 1972: 52).

The teacher's manual stressed "routine" tasks for the assistant: handling of stock, correcting tests, preparing statistics of test scores. In fact, assistants ended up giving a good deal of individual guidance to pupils, especially in the approved model of 2 teachers and 1 assistant working as a team (Martinsson, 1972: p.35). Assistants often became involved in guiding pupils in the choice of an appropriate level of difficulty for a new component in the IMU programme. Fully 75 per cent of the assistants spent time with pupils discussing mistakes made on the diagnostic test - a function intended for the teachers. About half of them said they had assisted in correcting the main tests given at the end of each module. Thus, the work of teachers and assistants frequently overlapped in certain areas intended for teachers only. Otherwise, their work included mostly office routines, taking attendance, noting the progress made by pupils, supplying teachers and pupils with material, supervising pupils, and assisting teachers in selecting groups of pupils ready for tests (Alehammer and Klasson, 1972a: 36). All in all, the assistants performed the tasks intended for them but found that their work in addition was "stretched" into certain areas originally intended as the teachers' preserve.

The need for individualised guidance in a group of 80-90 pupils was apparently greater than what two teachers could fully meet, especially in situations when one teacher might be busy giving special tuition to a small group of pupils. There was probably another reason for the stretching of the assistants' role into giving personal guidance to pupils. The task of collecting relevant information about each pupil's progress was assigned to the assistant (e.g. noting the work pace and the booklet with which a pupil would be working, accuracy of work, absence, and results from diagnostic tests). Because the intended role would make assistants better informed than the teachers about each pupil's special circumstances, the assistant would be drawn into the role of giving advice. Also, since the teachers were subject teachers - not class teachers, they would not necessarily have much contact in other

teaching situations with their mathematics pupils. A large class of 90 pupils in mathematics would therefore not provide a situation where the teachers had much opportunity to know their pupils as persons. The research reports do not discuss the reasons why the assistants' tended to have their role stretched, but the foregoing inferences are suggested by the fact that some teachers working with the large, combined classes said they had difficulties remembering the circumstances of each individual pupil, as they moved about the classroom (Alehammer and Klasson, 1972a: 23).

Because their role was being stretched, the assistants felt a very strong need for more training. The schools had been urged to employ assistants whose previous education would enable them to develop their knowledge of mathematics further, in connection with their work. They were also given a brief introduction to IMU by the head of school and the senior staff locally involved in the pilot project. They were asked to read the teacher's manual and to familiarise themselves with the material to try to solve the tests etc. The teachers were supposed to suggest further mathematics readings to the assistants and the head of a school's mathematics department would have a special responsibility for advising the assistant on independent study. It was hoped that after some experience with IMU and independent study, the assistants would reach a mathematics proficiency equal to the university entry requirements. Nevertheless, assistants frequently felt a need to be better prepared for their task - not only in mathematics as such, but also in the fields of mathematics teaching methods, in psychology, and in general educational studies (Alehammer and Klasson, 1972a: 17).

Sometimes the lack of a room large enough to hold an entire "large" class would place greater demands on the assistants. When the pupils were divided in several rooms, the assistant might occasionally be supervising a group of thirty pupils without a teacher present, and worrying about losing control. (Ibid, p. 34). Problems of this sort were apparently sometimes solved by putting well-behaved and hard-working pupils in their own room under the tutelage of the assistant. As IMU progressed, it became increasingly clear that the need for group teaching was greater than anticipated; and such teaching tended to concentrate more than intended on slow learners. While one teacher was working with a group, the assistant might be drawn into teaching functions for which she felt ill prepared.

Sometimes conflicts would arise between teachers and assistant - though it is difficult to assess the frequency of such conflicts. At a team meeting, the assistant might be urged to confine herself to tasks as defined in the teacher's manual. In other cases, it is reported that the head teacher had to ensure that the assistants in fact would "be given the tasks intended for her" (Ibid, pp. 25-26). On the whole, most teachers preferred having an assistant (Alehammer and Klasson, 1972b: p.28) but not an assistant instead of a teacher! Rather than combining several classroom groups and replacing one teacher with an assistant, the teachers wanted the assistant to come in addition to the normal staffing provision (Ibid, p.134). Thus, teacher opinion pressed for a solution which would be more expensive than normal mathematics teaching rather than one which would save costs. This undoubtedly reduced enthusiasm for IMU among policy makers.

Over the years, there was a trend away from the large classes; and in the remaining "large classes" staffing was increased. Towards the end of the "experimental period", a class of 80-90 pupils would normally be given 1 assistant and $2\frac{1}{2}$ teacher - a ratio which meant no cost saving compared to normal classes, especially not when the extra expense of the IMU material was included. During the early 1970's the shortage of teachers was gradually replaced by a surplus. Finally, it was found that especially for the less able pupils, IMU did not seem to work well - although research comparing the performance of IMU pupils and learning outcomes in normal classes was not encouraged because of differences in learning objectives. In the beginning,

pupils seemed to have favourable attitudes to IMU. The teachers' assistants - performing a new role that often tended to be "stretched", had more supportive views of IMU than teachers did; but also the teachers involved were generally favourable. Towards the end of the "experimental period" (1973), there seems to have been considerable disillusionment with IMU and with self-instructional material in general. Research on pupil attitudes then showed that by age 16, after 3 years' work with IMU, most pupils found IMU monotonous and boring. The pupils also preferred to work in a class of normal size (Davidsson, 1973: pp.57,70). At the same time, in the public debate on education, the concern with individualised learning gave way to emphasis on social education and "cooperation" - objectives towards which IMU did not seem to contribute. Therefore, the further spread of IMU was not encouraged in the end - although Swedish researchers believe that IMU gave valuable insights into the problems of individualised learning.

B. An attempt to Set up a Training Programme in Skellefteå

In Skellefteå municipality in northern Sweden, a 20-week training course for teachers' assistants was run for a brief period (1972-73). The course was based at a local upper-secondary school. These were the entry requirements: (a) education equivalent to two-year courses in the integrated upper secondary school in the areas of social, commercial, or technical studies; (b) proficiency in typing; (c) at least 9 months of relevant practical experience. The weekly timetable of 35 class periods was as follows:

	Class periods
Study technique	12
Curriculum, schools laws and regulations	2
Psychology	3
Teaching aids and materials	6
Pupil welfare, registration procedures, etc.	2
Laboratory technology	2
Physical education	2
Either laboratory technology or office work and typing	6

There were 126 applicants from all over Sweden for the course, and 24 were admitted for the spring course.

The use of assistants in Skellefteå schools started before the brief experiment with a training programme. The assistants worked within a widely defined pilot project called PEDO (pedagogical-organisational experiments) in the upper stage of the Basic School. IMU was part of this project. In PEDO, a team of teachers would work with a unit of 2 or 3 classes (60-90 pupils), following a timetable of "continuous working periods" rather than the normal class periods of 40 minutes. PEDO also involved attempts to structure teaching according to projects which would sometimes cut across conventional subject boundaries. It was a multi-facetted attempt to try out ideas favoured by central policy makers for the future development of the Basic School curriculum. In Skellefteå - and possibly also in other schools trying out PEDO, assistants were part of this possible design for the future. The assistant would assist with practical work before and after lessons (handling teaching aids and materials). She would also do clerical work (keeping of records of various types). It was found that PEDO generated more work of this type (Marklund, 1974: p. 318). The assistant would assist during teaching sessions to some extent, possibly mainly in connection with IMU as a part of PEDO.

Research on attitudes of teachers involved showed that most teachers and assistants had favourable views of PEDO. The teachers seemed to appreciate the help given by assistants. Indeed, teachers seemed to be more welcoming of having an assistant in the classroom than of teaching a "large class" jointly with another teacher (Nilsson, 1971). This could show that teachers find it easier to coordinate their work with others when they are working with subordinates

rather than with equals (See also Chapter III, section 4, on Julian's Primary School). After the conclusion of PEDO as an experiment monitored and supported by the National Board of Education, assistants have continued to work in Skellefteå schools, but on a very small scale: as of 1976/77 there were only 6 part-time assistants. The training programme was discontinued, the main reason being the labour market situation for teachers.

C. Norra Latin Upper Secondary School

This school is above the range of compulsory schooling but is nevertheless included in this report because it is probably the one Swedish school where assistants are used most extensively today. The school enrols students in the 16-19 age range. Though organisationally part of the new integrated upper secondary system, the school still functions as a distinctly "academic" upper-secondary school in terms of the type of courses offered. A pedagogic pilot project was started in 1971 at Norra Latin, involving teaching groups of varying size, greater emphasis on group discussions and independent study, closer cooperation between teachers - especially among teachers in closely related subjects, and a timetable that allowed pupils to concentrate on fewer subjects at a time. In 1973/74, the project included 227 students.

During 1972/73 two teachers' assistants were full-time employed in the Norra Latin project, in addition to several part-time foreign language assistants. The "official" job description for the assistants, which was prepared at the school, included these tasks:

Assisting during group work by supplying, distributing and collecting materials
Supplying materials needed during class teaching
Assisting during "large classes" (60-90 students)
Assisting in correcting diagnostic tests
Assisting during oral or written tests
Keeping registers, diaries, taking attendance, etc.
Assisting during excursions
Helping students during group work or independent study
Assisting the project-leader and teachers with various office work
To generally promote a spirit of cooperation and "well-being" among all project participants

The teachers' assistants spent most of their time taking attendance, doing typing for the teachers, correcting diagnostic tests, and errands of various kinds. Towards the end of the school year they were increasingly being used as assistants in teaching situations and participated in the planning of various activities. The annual report of the Norra Latin project (Ahnmé and Levén-Andersson, 1973: p. 21) gives warm praise to the assistants, especially for having helped to nurture a spirit of cooperation among the participants.

The language assistants were native speakers, seemingly functioning in much the same way as such assistants in other European countries, enabling small groups of students to practise their foreign language with a native speaker who also would be a source of information about current events in the country whose language is studied.

In 1973/74 another teachers' assistant was added and efforts were at the same time made to give the assistants more responsibility. As before, the assistants spent much time on such routine tasks as taking attendance, registration, keeping records, procuring and supplying materials, and correcting diagnostic tests - enabling teachers to concentrate more fully on core teaching tasks. But the assistants' role in supervising group work and independent study was reportedly widened this year (Ahnmé, Gleisner, and Levén-Andersson,

1974: p.24), presumably because the increased staffing left more time for such work after "routine" tasks had been taken care of. During the year, the assistants also took on some informal "remedial" work. Pupils having difficulties with their homework seemed to feel that the assistants were more approachable than teachers. Because the assistant was not perceived as a "teacher", she could be approached without any worry about the aura of stigma which "official" remedial work so easily conveys. The assistant's informal function as an "intermediary" enabled her to provide teachers with valuable information for planning the work in their courses.

All in all, the Norra Latin experience suggests the possibility that in schools enrolling teenagers and in which teaching is specialised by subject, teachers' assistants can perform the role of a valued intermediary between students and their teachers.

D. Likely Results of the SIA Proposals

Some Swedish schools, especially in cities, have for some years employed full-time "leisure-organisers" as well as a very large number of part-time "leisure activity leaders" (leaders of individual activities). Thus, there were in 1976 about 60 trained "leisure activity organisers" (or "leisure activity pedagogues") working full-time in the schools of Stockholm. They organise and supervise the work of some 1600 "leisure activity leaders" - often older pupils/students or housewives who are responsible for leading one group and who have no formal training for their job. There were also about 70 "pupil assistants" in some Stockholm schools. They work with younger children, often in schools having a seemingly "tough" peer-group culture. The "pupil assistant" is given diffuse welfare tasks, such as looking after especially anxious or unruly children, mending torn clothes, escorting individuals or small groups to the dentist, helping children undress for physical education and dress afterwards, protecting the weak against bullying in the playground, sometimes accompanying anxious children to school. To some extent the pupil assistants also help to organise playground activities (National Board of Education, 1976: pp 68-69). The work of pupil assistants seems to overlap to some extent both with the work of "leisure organisers" and especially with that of "school hostesses" (cf. discussion above). All three categories are assistants performing welfare functions outside of normal teaching situations.

The recommendations of the SIA Commission (on the "Inner Work of the School") lends support to the use of such personnel. It comments approvingly on "school hostesses" (p. 283), but remains silent on the desirability of assistants working in classrooms under the teacher's direction. The SIA report, and the Parliamentary decisions in response to the report, will extend the school day by adding voluntary "free activities" which are to be interspersed with "fixed activities". The fixed activities will correspond to "normal" teaching sessions and will continue to be governed by a national curriculum. "Free activities" are to be decided locally, but they are envisaged to include hobbies, artistic activities, sports, participation in local voluntary organisations, and student government. It is envisaged that many new "activity organisers" will be brought into schools to lead "free activities". The SIA Report stressed especially the desirability of involving leaders of local voluntary organisations (including political youth groups!), and resources are being made available to finance such involvement of activity leaders. Because teachers are paid by the hour and would not take on more hours of work without pay in accordance with their qualifications, it is not envisaged that teachers will be greatly involved in leading "free activities". It would seem that new personnel brought into the school to lead activities are not likely to provide direct support for teachers. Rather, it is possible - if not likely - that the "fixed" and the "free" activities will function as separate enclaves in the school curriculum, with little overlap in staffing. The new personnel would hardly function as "teachers'

assistants" because they are neither envisaged to work under the teachers' direction, nor to provide direct back-up in respect of aids and materials. It remains to be seen to what extent the "free activities" will be structured as a school within a school, since the intention is that "free activities" will be decided locally.

The SIA Report also recommends greater budgetary flexibility for schools and municipalities. As of Autumn 1976, the decision awaits recommendations from a commission on the division of responsibility between schools, the municipalities, and the State (SSK). It is likely that schools and municipalities will be given greater flexibility in the allocation of resources. This would give localities greater scope to employ teachers' assistants if they so desired. In the context of present labour market conditions, it would be unlikely that decisions would be at the expense of teaching hours. Nevertheless, teachers' unions in Sweden are anxious about greater local control over resource allocations, and partly for that reason. Like other interest groups, teachers' unions tend to be sceptical of decentralisation of authority if it increases the authority of the immediate superiors of union members.

Teachers are naturally anxious lest assistants or expensive "curriculum packages" be introduced at the expense of teaching hours. Events in Sweden and Norway indicate that to gain union acceptance, assistants must be clearly defined as an added resource in the budget, not as a replacement for more expensive man-hours.

4 THE SCOTTISH AUXILIARIES

The Scottish "Primary School Survey" (cf. chapter 1, section 2.B) concluded that there was considerable scope for assistants to work in classrooms under a teacher's direction. The study recommended the trying out a ratio of 3 teachers to 1 auxiliary, as a national average. The next step was a feasibility study that would, as an action research project, introduce auxiliaries into a number of schools and examine their functioning (Kennedy and Duthie, 1975).

The researchers, Kennedy and Duthie, were able to gain the active support of the local education authorities in Stirlingshire and Fife. The authorities made available the needed funds to employ 1 auxiliary to 3 teachers, and helped find suitable schools for the experiment (schools of varying size and rural-urban location). Nine schools participated in the feasibility study, involving 19 auxiliaries, about 60 teachers and 1,200 pupils. Some teachers had reservations about the projects, but "on the whole, teachers were agreeable to trying out auxiliaries and no-one baulked at the thought of the radical changes which they faced".

In one county 600 applications were received for the 10 auxiliary posts which had been advertised. In the other county, selections were made from previous applicants for similar posts. Among the selection criteria were: at least a secondary school certificate, some experience with groups of children, evidence of musical or artisitic talent, ability or interest in games (sports), and whether the applicant had a driver's licence. In each school, the short-listed applicants were personally interviewed by the head teacher, the research fellow, and two administrators.

The successful applicants were all women, aged 18 to 54, and having a considerable experience with children (e.g. as nurses, mothers, youth leaders, etc.). They were given a four-week initial training course, stressing especially aspects of modern primary education and the handling of audio-visual aids. The course also included visits to schools, work with teaching materials and aids of different types, talks by experienced teachers and school administrators, and

operating equipment. The course also covered First Aid, registration and record keeping, and simple presentation of statistical information. Towards the end of the course, the trainees were given some experience with a group of primary school children (Kennedy and Duthie, 1975: pp 5-6). During their first year of employment the auxiliaries participated in in-service courses on the teaching of reading and writing, adult-child relationship in schools, drama and speech lessons, and maintenance of audio-visual aids. There were also discussion sessions during the year, auxiliaries would discuss their experience with teachers, researchers, and with each other.

After the auxiliaries had one year's experience in their job, twenty-one classes were chosen for detailed observation. Questionnaires were used to supplement the observation data. The report gives a detailed description of a typical day in the work life of an auxiliary. It also examines differences between schools of different type in the functioning of the auxiliaries.

Here are some events in a typical day of a primary school auxiliary: In the morning, the auxiliary welcomes the pupils and helps them in the cloakroom. Afterwards she goes to one class where she first helps out registering the children who will have a hot lunch at school rather than going home to eat. She also prepares and fetches material which the children will need later in the lesson. The teacher gives the whole class some work to do, and then gathers a small group for special tuition while the auxiliary circulates among the class, "giving out chalk, wiping boards, answering questions, and attending to those whose attention has already wandered" (p.9). Later, after having finished with her group tuition, the teacher finds another group that has "progressed far enough to warrant a change of activity and she sends them to a corner along with the auxiliary who reads them a story for five minutes". Still later, the auxiliary listens to some children's reading, while the remainder of the class engage in a variety of pursuits under the teacher's direction. After a mid-morning break, the auxiliary watches children as they go into the cloakroom to hang up their clothes, and especially to look after the younger ones. She then goes on to another class, to hear small groups or individual children read. Later, she plays a game of word recognition with four children. Before lunch, the teacher and the auxiliary help the children to clear up. During the mid-day break the auxiliary helps to supervise the children during the meal and in the playground. She also has a lunch break of her own. Thereupon she goes to a third teacher where she looks after groups of children working on their workbooks, dividing her attention between supervision, sharpening pencils, giving out books, and occasionally leaving the room on errands for the teacher. As soon as the children have finished their work, the auxiliary begins objective marking of the work-books. This involves a comparison of the children's work with lists of correct words. Meanwhile, the teacher is busy with groups of children, directing the overall work. Towards the end of the period, time is set aside for painting. The auxiliary fetches the needed water, brushes, papers etc. and distributes the materials to the children. At the end of the day, she supervises the children in clearing up the classroom. After the children have left for home, she spends some time preparing workcards in accordance with instructions given by the teacher. She is interrupted for a few minutes by a child with a grazed knee that needs attention (pp. 11-12).

This (abbreviated) account of a "typical day" includes a mixture of what Duthie called "housekeeping" tasks and "supervision" in the "Primary School Survey" research. In the feasibility study, special attention was given to how auxiliaries functioned in schools of different size. Kennedy and Duthie concluded that from the auxiliary's point of view, the "smaller schools were more attractive since there was more contact with children and teachers both in and out of class. The lack of secretarial help in small schools means that auxiliary assistance is often diverted to jobs concerned with the running of the school, resulting in a wider range of tasks. Hence the auxiliary has more contact, has more to interest her, and is more in touch with the milieu of the school" (p. 21).

The observations of auxiliaries at work (based on 21 classes) were also used to quantify the amount of time devoted to different activities. They spent a considerable proportion of their work day performing tasks for the school as a whole (e.g. supervising meals, clerical chores). Such work amounted to about one-fourth of the work day on the average (or 70 minutes). The generous provision of auxiliaries in the pilot project was intended to leave time for work in classrooms, after taking care of general school duties. The classroom observations showed that the auxiliaries were kept busy: 95 per cent of the time a classroom situation was fruitfully occupied (p.24). On the average, 74 per cent of auxiliary class time was devoted to "supervision duties" and 21 per cent to "housekeeping" (see Ch.1, section 2B for discussion of "supervision" and "housekeeping").

By using auxiliaries, teachers were able to reduce the time that they themselves spend on non-teaching jobs to 13 per cent. It was noted that "many of these duties occur at occasional intervals within the class lessons and to some extent form an integral part of the lesson... Teachers therefore will have to perform some auxiliary duties even when auxiliaries are abundantly available to them and when auxiliaries are working to one hundred per cent capacity" (p.25). By comparing the data from the feasibility study with those from the Primary School Survey, Kennedy and Duthie were able to estimate that in the absence of auxiliaries there are about three times as many breaks in the flow of lessons as there are when auxiliaries are being used (p.27).

The auxiliaries seemed to function best in classrooms where children individually or in groups were working fairly independently. "One other main advantage we saw in having auxiliaries work in classrooms was the fact that at least two independent activities could be carried on simultaneously with adult supervision.. As might be expected auxiliaries were least useful when the teacher was either conducting a full class-lesson or was giving a long list of instructions to the whole class. These were the occasions in which we saw the auxiliary unoccupied (p.27). All in all, the observation data suggested that auxiliaries not only could relieve teachers of routine chores, but they could also help to facilitate activity methods as a pedagogic style.

Questionnaires were sent to teachers at the schools involved in the project, eliciting their views on issues related to the use of assistants; and 50 out of 60 teachers returned usable questionnaires. In response to a check-list of potential duties for auxiliaries, over 90 per cent thought that "operating A-V equipment, recording programmes, assisting on visits and excursions, maintaining books etc., and taking lunch line and dispersal duties" were appropriate tasks for auxiliaries. "At the 75 per cent agreement level (more than 45 teachers) ... a further twelve items were added to the list including helping with handwork, listening to reading, supervising groups out of class, taking dictation from children who cannot yet write and providing admiration and encouragement. The least favoured items were record keeping, writing instructions or assignments on the blackboard, collecting and returning pupils' work, reading out spelling or dictation and marking objective work although positive response to these last two cases approached 50 per cent" (p.31).

In respect of overall evaluation, response patterns across a range of questions show that the great majority of teachers thought auxiliaries made their job easier (p. 39). Teachers felt relieved of manual preparation for classes, and one also notes that most teachers said they can give more attention to individual pupils when the auxiliary is "supervising the whole class and is doing it for large blocks of time". Most teachers felt that having an auxiliary enabled them to concentrate on "the essential educational tasks of diagnosing, evaluating and planning, prescribing and instructing". The head teachers concurred with their staff in this positive evaluation.

By comparing their findings with data from a control group of teachers in schools of comparable size, Kennedy and Duthie suggested that teachers' attitudes towards auxiliaries are influenced by the experience of working with auxiliaries. Teachers may develop a more appreciative and less restricted view of the contribution that auxiliaries can make, as a result of working with them. Compared to the control group, teachers involved in the pilot project were more ready to let auxiliaries perform such "supervisory" duties as "hearing the children read" and other classroom functions rather than wanting to confine their contribution to out-of-class duties.

The auxiliaries themselves enjoyed working in situations structured for learning. They most appreciated "helping the children at handwork", play periods, supervision in class-projects, reading, library". The least appreciated duties were "interval duty', corridors, lunches, etc.", and "busy work which was meaningless and useless" (p.60).

The teachers were asked about difficulties connected with the use of auxiliaries. The most frequently mentioned ones were: "more planning is now necessary, although this is not necessarily a bad thing" (9 teachers out of 57), "personality clashes occur" (9 teachers), "younger teachers with an older auxiliary may feel insecure if the auxiliary is inclined to take over" (5 teachers), and "teachers may feel inhibited by the presence of another adult in the room" (5 teachers). Similar questions trying to identify problems generated few and isolated responses. The difficulties mentioned are very similar to those noted in the case studies of three primary schools in England in Chapter III, but the overall evaluation made by the very great majority of teachers in this Scottish study is very clearly positive. Some of the problems mentioned should become manageable as teachers become more experienced in the use of assistants (e.g. the need for more planning, feeling inhibited by another person's presence). However, the problem of tension between a neophyte teacher and an experienced and older assistant will probably become more difficult over time if it became generally accepted for auxiliaries to work in classrooms.

A positive evaluation from teachers does not necessarily mean unqualified support for introducing auxiliaries on a large scale and on a permanent basis. When teachers - and others - look at recommendations concerning auxiliaries it becomes inevitably a question of what priorities to stress in the allocation of scarce financial resources for education. In Norway and Sweden the stumbling block to the introduction of assistants has partly been that assistants would be paid out of funds which could also be used to provide for more teaching hours. And teachers opt for more teaching hours if confronted with the need to choose. The support for auxiliaries among these Scottish teachers appears more qualified if auxiliaries would mean fewer teachers than one would otherwise have. They were asked: "In the knowledge that a school might receive two or three times as many auxiliaries as teachers for a given sum of money would you say that any money available would be better spent:" (then followed the response categories which are presented below with the frequency of response)

	Frequency of response (number of teachers)
Employing one teacher rather than several auxiliaries	23
Employing auxiliaries rather than one extra teacher	8
On equipment, books and buildings	3
On a combination of these people and resources	22

The nine heads of school responded in a similar way. Reservations arise when hiring auxiliaries is at the expense of fewer teaching hours - undoubtedly both for reasons of collegial solidarity in a time of teacher surplus, and professional judgement.

Apparently, the research by Duthie, Kennedy and their assistants has been influential in persuading the Scottish Education Department and the local education authorities in Scotland of the value of auxiliaries working also in the classrooms. There is still a long way to go before auxiliary staffing in Scottish primary schools would be anywhere near the ratio recommended by Kennedy and Duthie. They estimated that 8600 full-time equivalent auxiliaries would be required to reach an overall ratio of one auxiliary to three teachers (p 107). In the 1975 annual report of the Scottish Education Department, a more cautious ratio of 1:4 is recommended, although the current financial cut-backs in Britain are likely to render implementation unlikely for some time.

A staffing ratio of one auxiliary to four teachers would imply about 6500 full-time equivalent auxiliaries in the primary schools alone (using 1973 figures). During the past five years, the number of assistants in Scottish nursery and primary education has been rising, from only 515 in 1970, to 1826 in 1975. Many of these are probably in nursery schools where assistants are more frequently employed than in primary schools. There were also 656 "ancillaries" in secondary schools in 1975. However, even if one had 2000 auxiliaries in the primary schools alone, this provision would for Scotland as a whole yield a ratio of only 1 assistant to 13 teachers. To what extent the assistants presently employed in Scotland are engaged in "supervision" within classrooms and not only in "housekeeping" and general school duties is unknown. It would presumably depend both on school policy and on the extent of auxiliary provision at each school.

In spite of present financial obstacles, the long term prospects for extensive use of auxiliaries seem - from a distance - unusually favourable in Scotland. The carefully designed survey of need for assistants and the feasibility study have probably eased the way. Equally important perhaps, the largest teachers' Scottish teachers' union, The Educational Institute of Scotland, was from the beginning involved in the consultative committee for these research projects and seems favourable towards auxiliaries as an added resource in schools.

CHAPTER III

A CASE STUDY OF THREE PRIMARY SCHOOLS IN ENGLAND

"Non-specialist" assistants are in England and Wales variously referred to as "ancillaries", "auxiliaries", "school helpers", "general assistants", "welfare assistants", "infant helpers" or - in nursery schools - "nursery nurses" or "nursery assistants". The designations vary not only with stage of schooling but also with locality, reflecting the fact that local education authorities (LEAs) usually corresponding to counties or metropolitan boroughs, have considerable autonomy - also in questions of staffing.

Provision for non-teaching assistants varies greatly between LEAs. Furthermore, the guidelines for staffing within a LEA may be such that some schools will be more generously staffed with assistants, for example because of a high proportion of immigrant children or the school being in a district designated as an Educational Priority Area. In some local authorities (e.g. Inner London) schools have some budgetary flexibility which enables the head teacher to use certain resources for hiring assistants or for other purposes as he or she sees fit. Assistants are not always paid; some of them may be parents or others who offer their services free of charge. Schools vary greatly in the extent to which they cultivate or encourage such help. While some schools have a policy of keeping parents at arms length, a few schools encourage parents to help out in school, not only for special events or with routine out-of-classroom chores but also within the classroom. Thus, there is in England and Wales a very great variety in how well schools are provided with paid or voluntary assistance, and in what the assistants do. It is difficult to ascertain what a "typical" school would be like. Nevertheless, the illustrations in the present case studies are undoubtedly of schools which are unusually well provided with "assistants". They are probably also cases where assistants are given wider responsibility than in most schools.

The case studies are limited to primary education which in England and Wales covers the 5 to 11 (or sometimes 12) age range. Unlike the examples from Sweden, "non-specialist" assistants are in England and Wales most likely to be found in primary schools; and it is in primary schools that they are most likely to work directly with children rather than only providing support for the teachers in various ways outside the classroom. Assistants are used more frequently in the lower stage of primary education: in the "infant school" (5 to 7) or the "lower school" (5 - 8) rather than in the "junior school" (7 to 11) or "middle school" (8 to 12). Assistants are even more widely used in nursery education, before the beginning of compulsory education. In a nursery school the "normal" staffing is several assistants, often trained "nursery nurses" working under the direction of a teacher. The training of "nursery nurses" is also relevant for primary schools. The NNEB Certificate (NNEB = National Nursery Examination Board) which qualifies a "nursery nurse" for work in nursery education, was in 1965 extended to include work as infant school assistants as well. The NNEB Certificate is the only officially recognised credential that serves as a formal qualification to work as a "non-specialist" teachers' assistant. Increasingly, assistants in primary school have the NNEB qualification, though many do not.

1. THE TRAINING OF ASSISTANTS

A. The NNEB Course

The two-year National Nursery Examination Board course - which dates back to 1945 - is more guided by central directives than most forms of schooling in England and Wales. The national board issues an outline syllabus for the course and administer the final examination. The training, which partly takes place in a "college" and partly in school practice, can only occur in institutions approved by the Department of Education and Science. The course lasts two years, but there is also a one-year course for older persons with considerable experience. The time is divided between 60 per cent in a college of further education or a special nursery training establishment, and 40 per cent practical experience in schools. A trainee typically spends one year in a nursery school and an infant school respectively. During the year, a trainee spends alternate weeks in college and their placement school. The trainees "follow the pattern of life in the schools to which they are attached, often undertaking the same hours of duty as the staff" (The Plowden Report, p 368).

The syllabus guidelines have a component of "general studies" in the areas of "communication and creative arts, man and his environment, and home and society". The more vocational parts of the syllabus aim to give "a wide theoretical knowledge and understanding of children's growth, development and needs, and to combine this with practical knowledge to enable them after qualifying to care for young children in an appropriate manner wherever they are working." The following areas are emphasized: children's development, children's needs, the importance of continuity of individual care for the child, health matters and health needs of children (including First Aid), the child and his home and the community, and services related to the care of children.

Within the syllabus guidelines, each training institution plans its own curriculum. The following is an example for Warley College of Technology in the West Midlands.* At Warley students spend their first six weeks of their first year of training in college. After this "induction" period, alternate weeks are spent in college and the placement institution, with half-term holidays spent in college. The second year students spend alternate weeks in college and school, with the final eight weeks in college for revision purposes. During the college week, half of each day is spent on vocational studies and half on general education studies.

The places in NNEB courses are in great demand. At Warley 200-300 applicants compete each year for 60 places. Selection at Warley is by a test of basic English usage and personal interview by a panel consisting of the course tutor, a Local Education Authority Adviser, and a Social Service representative. The national board has not found it appropriate to lay down definite educational requirements for admission; but especially younger students have usually one or more passes in the Ordinary Level of the

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* Based on information generously supplied by Mrs J Jones, the NNEB Course lecturer at Warley College of Technology. She also provided valuable background material on the history of the NNEB programme.

General Certificate of Education ("O-Level" = a lower secondary level examination in an individual subject). At Warley they expect "a good general education preferably to 'O'-Level standard" but the students come from a cross-section both socially and educationally. Some have "A" Levels (advanced secondary exams), more have "O" Levels, and some students, especially the older ones, have no academic qualification. There is nothing in the national regulations excluding men from taking the course, but in practise it is entirely a women's domain.

When trained, NNEB "nursery nurses" work in a variety of establishments, including children's wards in hospitals and children's homes; and some continue directly to a college of education to qualify as teachers. However, most of them start working in infant schools or nursery education. At Warley, 44 students gained the NNEB certificate in June 1976 and have been placed as follows: 36 in nursery or infant schools, 3 going to teacher training, 1 in a hospital special care unit, 1 to a children's home, and 2 going to work as a nanny with a private family.

Since some NNEB nurses in fact end up caring for sick or handicapped children or severely deprived children - a function they are not specifically prepared for, an advanced certificate course is currently being developed in Bradford, to prepare assistants specifically for institutions having handicapped and deprived children. This course will be a one-year full-time programme, and will require for entry a broad lower secondary education ('O' Level exams in 5 subjects), an NNEB Certificate, and 3 years of full-time post-qualification experience with young children. Presumably, this constitutes an opportunity for career advancement for NNEB-trained assistants in nurseries and schools.

B. Other Training Schemes for "Non-specialist" Assistants

Other training schemes for assistants exist but are of a much more limited scale and kind. There are more than 100 LEAs (local education authorities) in England and Wales, but as of 1966 only some 10 of them were running courses for primary school assistants, varying in length from one day to a concentrated course for a month required of all "ancillary workers" (The Plowden Report, p 369). A course run a "number of times" in East Sussex exemplifies such short courses put on by only a few LEAs. The East Sussex course consisted of eight 2-hour sessions under the following broad headings: the role of the ancillary, the importance of play, talking with children, story telling, children's paintings, "difficult" children, and First Aid.

C. The Training and Function of Assistants Proposed in the Plowden Report

The Plowden Report (1967) on English primary schools recommended that a programme be set up to train "teachers' aides" for primary schools, and to some extent even for secondary schools. NNEB-trained "nursery assistants" would work with children up age five or six, and trained "teachers' aides" with children from 5 to nearly 13 (p 370). Plowden stressed two recruitment groups for both training programmes: qualified school leavers, and older women - many of them married.

The courses for "assistants" and "aides" were to be closely related, aiming towards the "development of a general class of helpers for an integrated nursery and primary system who will have a bias towards a part of the age range. They can assist hard pressed teachers and take over some of their lesser responsibilities" (p 370). The normal duration of

the proposed course for "teachers' aides" would be two years - the same as the established NNEB course for nursery assistants. The greater part of the course would be training on the job. Older, experienced applicants might be allowed to qualify after one year of training.

The Plowden Commission's concept of a "teachers' aide" was broad. The aide was envisaged as primarily working directly with teachers, rather than with "general school duties". The task included: helping and encouraging small children working as individuals or in groups while the teacher is busy with others, accompanying teachers and children on out-of-school expeditions, helping in the preparation and maintenance of materials and equipment inside and outside the classroom, providing special skills within school hours or in club sessions after school (e.g. needlework, art and craft, handicraft, gardening, games, drama, music, swimming, library work and supervising children after school hours while they are waiting for their parents.)

In accordance with the broad definition of function, the Plowden Report proposed that "as a first step, aides should be employed on a scale which will provide the equivalent of one full-time aide for 60-80 infants (two classes), and one aide for 120-160 juniors (four classes) . . . These proposals will mean the training and recruitment of over 50,000 aides by 1973/4" (p 330-331). The Plowden Report's recommendations were not implemented, neither the training scheme nor anything like the proposed staffing ratio. One reason was determined opposition from the teachers' unions which feared an encroachment upon the professional functions of trained teachers, by untrained or half-trained helpers - with the likely result of "dilution" of teaching quality. The unions have welcomed help with routine chores "outside the classroom" from what they call "ancillaries". But they have remained strongly opposed to what they term "auxiliaries": helpers who work directly with children in structured learning situations, even if under direct supervision by the teacher.

Although this part of the Plowden recommendations has not been implemented, there are some primary schools which for various reasons are more generously supplied with assistants than most schools, and where assistants help out in situations structured for learning. The schools examined below are illustrations.

2. TAMESIDE INFANT AND NURSERY SCHOOL

Tameside school is an infant school with nursery classes attached to it. As an infant school it covers the first years of compulsory schooling - ages 5 to 7. Since the local education authority - the Metropolitan Borough of Sandwell - has a policy of admitting children early to the infant school, at age 4½ if the parents so desire, the infant department spans the 4½ to 7 age range. The nursery classes admit children from age 3 onwards.

Upon completing the infant school, the Tameside children move on to a junior school unit (ages 7+ to 11+) which is located next door, and from there they continue to one of the comprehensive secondary schools in the borough. The school leaving age is 16. Sandwell LEA has no grammar schools, the changeover to comprehensive education occurred in 1969 in that part of the borough where Tameside is located; and in 1974 the other part of the borough went comprehensive.*

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* Tameside school is not located in Tameside LEA where there has been a recent controversy about the closing of grammar schools.

The Metropolitan Borough of Sandwell is located in the West Midlands, within the conurbation around the city of Birmingham. The area from which Tameside pupils come has a relatively stable population. It can probably be characterised as a fairly closely knit working class community. There are few immigrant families. Nearly all families live in public housing. Most wage earners work in industries allied to car manufacturing (suppliers, sub-contractors, etc), in semiskilled or unskilled jobs. A large proportion of the children come from families in which a parent works evening shifts. In many homes the mother is working, sometimes as the only earner in the household. The area has a high rate of single-parent homes or homes having "social problems". As a result, there is a very great demand for nursery school places, and a much greater demand for full-time nursery places than what Tameside and other nurseries in the area can provide. Because of the relative poverty of the area and the high proportion of broken homes and single-parent families, the local education authority has designated Tameside School a "school of exceptional difficulty."

A. Enrolments and Staffing

Because of this designation, the school has a higher staffing ratio than the average. It has one teacher and one "welfare assistant" more than the infant school enrolment would normally warrant. The normal staffing ratio for infant schools in the borough is 1 teacher to 34 children, and 1 welfare assistant for the first 35 children in the annual intake of beginners, and one-half full-time equivalent assistant for every group of 35 new children, beyond the first 35. Due to its special status as a "difficult school" and because the classrooms and lunch hall are spread out in several buildings, Tameside's infant department is also more generously provided with "dining room supervisors" than what is normal. Tameside is also a placement school for the NNEB training programme at Warley College of Technology, which is in the borough. Normally during the school year, there are at least 4 trainees working in the school every day. Because of these circumstances, the school has an unusually high ratio of adults to children.

i. Enrolments, Teachers, and Full-time Assistants

The nursery department consists of two physically separated units, the larger unit is across the road from the building housing the smaller nursery unit and the infant school. The larger unit has 40 full-time equivalent nursery places. It is staffed by one teacher and three "nursery nurses" (or nursery assistants) who hold the NNEB qualification. The other unit has 30 full-time equivalent places, and is staffed by one teacher and two NNEB "nursery nurses". There is also a supernumerary teacher who divides her time between the two units.

Although the nursery units together have only 70 place, in fact they accommodate a much larger number of children since most children come in for a half day only. According to guidelines from the Department of Education and Science, about 20 per cent of the places should be full-time. At Tameside the proportion has been higher due to the great demand from households with severe social problems.

The infant school has about 240 children, distributed on 7 classrooms. The annual intake has in recent years been 85-90 children. Apart from the head teacher - who is also the head of the nursery units - the teaching staff includes a deputy head and 8 class teachers. One class

teacher is a specialist in teaching slow learners and provides remedial back-up for the 7 others, each of whom is in charge of one classroom group. The deputy head is without direct class teaching responsibility and provides further support for the class teachers. There are two full-time "welfare assistants" in the infant school, both having the NNEB qualification. The title differs from that of the "nursery nurses", but both groups have the same qualification at Tameside. One of the welfare assistants works full-time in the "activity area" - an area for structured play visited by classes according to a rota system. The other welfare assistant has one morning every other week set aside for "general duties". The rest of her time is devoted to assisting teachers in their classes, on a time-tabled basis.

Until spring 1976, Tameside infant school had four welfare assistants, all of whom were experienced and highly valued. Because of financial cut-backs, the staffing ratio was reduced and two assistants - who did not have a NNEB Certificate and who for that reason could not be permanently employed - had to leave. Therefore, the scheduled provision of assistance to teachers changed at the beginning of the 1976/77 school year. The job of the welfare assistant in the "activity area" remained the same; but the other assistant works with more teachers than previously (4 teachers whose classes comprise the "younger" children). And the three teachers whose classes include the "older" children now work without a welfare assistant.

Although infant schools in Sandwell are now less well staffed with assistants than before the cut-backs, infant schools are still more generously provided for than junior schools. Junior schools have no welfare assistants at all. Nor do secondary schools, though secondary schools - depending on size - are given laboratory assistants to assist in science laboratories.

All teachers, welfare assistants, and nursery nurses at Tameside school are women.

ii. "Specialist" Support Staff

Apart from the teacher with a special responsibility for remedial work, Tameside has no "specialist" support staff working regularly in the school on a time-tabled basis. The school has its own collection of books, distributed throughout the classrooms and working spaces, but there is no school librarian. However, a library van from the education authority parks in the playground once a week. A speech therapist used to come in one morning a week, but this no longer occurs because of budgetary cuts and shortage of trained staff. The school physician visits the school once a year to give all children a major medical examination; and the local school nurse may visit four times a year. Beginning pupils are tested by an audiometrician. Otherwise, physicians, nurses, speech therapists, and audiometricians are based in a nearby clinic to which children are referred as the need arises. Or they may visit the school by special appointment. There is a child guidance centre serving a number of schools in the area, staffed by a team including child psychologists, remedial teachers, and social workers. Such specialist staff liaises with the school about individual children. They are mainly a referral service but will come to the school if necessary.

iii. "Dinner Ladies"

By a nationally negotiated agreement, teachers in English and Welsh schools are not obliged to supervise their pupils at lunch or play during the 1½-hour long mid-day break. So schools employ persons who come in

each day for this purpose only, though some teachers usually volunteer to help out as well and there is always a senior person present in the event of any emergency. Welfare assistants are usually expected to help out with supervision during the lunch break too.

Tameside has seven "dining-room supervisors". Each "dinner lady" is responsible for one classroom group from the infant school, meets that group in their classroom every day, sees to it that hands are washed, takes the group to the lunch room, helping especially the younger ones to use knife and fork properly etc. The dinner lady also supervises children during play in the lunch break and delivers her group to their teacher at the beginning of the afternoon session. The dinner lady quickly learns to know the children in her group by name. Being local people and most of them mothers of pupils, they find themselves voluntarily drawn into occasional school activities outside the $1\frac{3}{4}$ hours a day that they are paid for. They often go along with their class on trips to parks, museums, for which the prsence of one or two extra adults is required. They also help out in the preparation for special school events, such as harvest festival or Christmas or during days when groups of parents visit the school. It also happens that a dinner lady may help a teacher in a classroom situation.

There are no "dinner ladies" in the nursery units. Most nursery children do not stay for lunch: only the full-time children and some of the part-timers. The nursery nurses eat with the children in their "family group", one adult to each table of about 6 children.

iv. Clerks, Cooks, and Custodians

The school is given some clerical/secretarial assistance, calculated on the basis of school size. This provision has also been reduced recently due to financial restraints. At present two persons come in for a joint total of $24\frac{1}{2}$ hours a week, one functioning as a school secretary for general purposes, and the other being exclusively concerned with school meals.

Tameside school shares custodial and cleaning staff with the junior school on the same site. There is also a school cook, and a number of assistant cooks preparing and serving the daily hot lunch which parents may buy for their children at a weekly cost of 75 pence. Some children go home to eat during the lunch break.

v. Trainees

The head teacher at Tameside, Mrs Siddons, has taken an active interest in the National Nursery Examination Board training scheme in her area, and she occasionally visits the local college of further education (Warley) to give talks to the NNEB students. Each year Tameside is the placement school for a group of NNEB trainees who work in classrooms on a regular basis. In 1976/77 Tameside has 9 student-trainees; but since they spend alternate weeks in college and the placement school, there are only 4 or 5 students working in the school during a given week. They are divided between the infant and the nursery school, so that each week there will normally be 2 trainees working in each school (or department). Their association with Tameside lasts for nearly a school year. While the training scheme requires some extra effort from Tameside teachers, especially with beginning trainees, it is also a source of help. Towards the end of their traineeship many students will function very similarly to the welfare

assistants or nursery nurses. The trainees are also a pool of personally known potential recruits flowing continuously through the school, which is useful when vacancies arise.

Each year Tameside also receives some College of Education students - on their way to become qualified teachers. They spend a six-week period of teaching practice at the school, probably too short a period for them to become integrated into the working of the school in the same way as the NNEB trainees. In 1976/77 the school has 1 student teacher; but there are usually 2 or 3 each year.

vi. Parents

The staff gave the impression that it is difficult to usefully involve parents as helpers at Tameside on a regular basis. Many mothers work. Most homes do not have a telephone. Many parents probably also feel awkward at school. Nevertheless, some mothers do come in to help, especially with preparation for special events or in the "activity area". Occasionally, a mother may help in a classroom, e.g. "hearing a few children read" while the teacher is busy with others. However, the impression is that teachers do not feel that they can depend on mothers coming in to help at agreed-upon times, in spite of attempts to set up a rota system for volunteers. All in all, a group of about 10 mothers come in at least occasionally.

B. The Working of the School

There is ample scope in English primary education for decisions at the school level about the curriculum. "Progressive" or "innovatory" practices of various kinds may therefore occur without being officially designated as an "experiment", "innovation", or "pilot project". In many respects educational practice at Tameside is probably typical of what is found in many "progressive" primary schools in England and Wales, the sort of practice which received approving comment in the Plowden Report. The physical lay-out is characterised mostly by classrooms and corridors, but within these constraints it is an "open school" in the sense that corridor spaces adjacent to classrooms are also used for educational purposes, e.g. for little depots of books or musical instruments.

The curriculum is flexible in the sense that several activities may go on at the same time in a classroom. Much use is made of work cards or work books which the teachers and the assistants often make up themselves. Children are given a choice from a variety of material to work with. For example, they choose from a variety of reading material which the teachers themselves have graded according to the level of difficulty. The school probably stands especially out in respect as the stress placed on continuity of learning experience, attempts to reach (if not to involve) parents, and on the emphasis on opportunity for structured play in a specially designated "activity area".

i. Continuity

The twin objectives of continuity and reaching parents are both furthered by the fact that it is a combined nursery and infant school. Probably about 90 per cent of the infant pupils have been through the nursery department at Tameside as well, although the nursery school is voluntary and does not have a clearly defined catchment area. This fosters continuity in approach as well as sustained contact with parents.

Tameside uses the Initial Teaching Alphabet for learning to read: a phonetic alphabet to facilitate an easier first break-through in reading. The children switch to traditional orthography when they have gained some fluency. It is then important that the pre-reading work done in nursery school should prepare the children for the approach used in infant school. At Tameside the combination of a nursery and an infant school helps to provide the needed continuity in approach to reading.

The infant classes are vertically grouped, rather than being divided on a strict age grade basis. Children from age 4+ to 6 are mixed together in 4 classroom groups. Three classes are formed by the 7-year-olds and some of the 6-year-olds. This helps to provide continuity in teacher-pupil contact over a longer period. Continuity in contact with adults is also furthered during lunch time, when each class is taken to lunch by its own "dinner lady", who also tends to get drawn into other activities in "her" class. In the nursery school, children spend much of their time in "family groups" of 10; each group is guided every day by the same nursery nurse or experienced trainee.

Ensuring continuity in a child's relationship with adults at school was more difficult during the 1960's when the turn-over of staff was greater at Tameside and it was difficult to get trained teachers: "People came to work here if they really wanted to - or if they could not find anything elsewhere." The staffing situation is now very different; the school has not had a single change of teaching staff for three years.

To ensure that teachers in the receiving junior school will have as complete a picture as possible about incoming pupils from Tameside school, the normal file of information about each pupil is supplemented by a folder containing specimens of the pupil's work, now starting from the nursery school onwards. Such illustrations of children's progress (e.g. in writing) are also used to reassure anxious parents who sometimes may worry their own child "will never get there" or who are suspicious of the Initial Teaching Alphabet's efficacy.

ii. Reaching Parents

Contact with parents is cultivated in various ways. In the nursery school, the teacher in charge of each unit spends much time talking to mothers. The teacher visits the home of every new child in the nursery, before the child comes in. Some mothers have especially great difficulties at home, and come in to talk with the teacher in order to make a special plea for a full-time place for their child, or just to explain the problems their child have. The teacher may therefore end up spending much time talking with social workers, physicians, probation officers etc. about a few children and their home circumstances.

In the infant school parents are every autumn invited in for a harvest day thanksgiving service, and "the audience is generally packed". During the following two or three weeks, they are all invited in small groups to see their children in a classroom situation. The head teacher first meets with them over tea and tries to get a few points across about school work. Then they go into the classrooms where their own children are. At the end of the year there is a similar occasion. The head calls personally on any mother who doesn't come, asking when a convenient time would be. In that way practically everyone comes in at least once a year (usually the mothers). Last year only one parent was unable to come to

school to look at the child's work together with the head teacher, before the child transferred to the junior school. One result of these efforts is that "teachers know practically all the parents of the children they are teaching", and the head teacher says she knows the vast majority of parents, if not by name at least in the sense of recognition.

The school also tries to involve some parents informally on a regular basis (cf. section A vi), and some mothers come in, usually for special occasions or to serve a snack to children in the "activity area". However, the school seems more successful in its attempts to "reach" parents than to involve them as contributor to the working of the school. There is perhaps also a feeling that parents can get "too close". The school frowns on mothers helping out in the classroom where their own child is, though it happens. Visiting mothers are no longer allowed into the staff room. Previously they were, but then there was an "incident" when something mentioned confidentially was "let out" and the staff room therefore was closed to them.

The school does not have a parent-teacher organisation; the staff seem to believe that parents of Tameside pupils would not come to formal meetings of the PTA type.

iii. The "Activity Area"

At other infant schools the morning and afternoon sessions (9 - 12, and 1.30 - 3.30 pm) are usually divided by a mid-session break. The Tameside children are instead given 45 minutes of structured play each day, in a special "activity area". The head teacher sees the functioning of the activity area as the key to the timetable, for it enables each teacher to give special tuition every other day to a subgroup within her class while the rest of her class is in the activity area. The subgroup would be one of three within her class, which is informally divided according to level of intellectual maturity for intensive group tuition. Since the classes are vertically grouped to begin with, the less "mature" children also tend to be the younger ones.

Two classes usually combine for a 45-minutes period in the activity area. One teacher takes both classes to the area, where a welfare assistant is working continuously throughout the day. Meanwhile, the freed teacher stays behind in her classroom with one of her three sub-groups of 10 pupils to give these special tuition. This subgroup is then sent to the activity area later in the day. Also, very immature children who are judged to need more time for play, are sent along to the activity area for an extra play session each day.

In the "activity area", the children may choose from a wide range of "activities" or play situations which have been stocked and prepared for them, e.g. hospital, wendy house, shop, woodwork, pastry making, water play, sand tray, dressing up, puzzles, basic science. Some activities are adjusted to suit the season, for example "post office" before Christmas. During the play session, they are guided and supervised by the welfare assistant who is permanently there, and by the teacher taking the two classes to the area.

C What Assistants Do

The Tameside policy is to "stretch" the assistants and the student-trainees, to give them more responsibility than what is normal in other schools. The practice of "stretching" them is undoubtedly the result of

a deliberate long-term effort by Mrs Siddons, the head teacher, and is probably intrinsic to being involved in the NNEB training course. Comments from everyone interviewed indicate that Tameside is different from most schools in the amount of responsibility given to assistants. A newly arrived trainee volunteered:

> Last year I worked in a more formal school ... with "corridors" ... where trainees as well as trained NNEBs were treated like - ! ... The NNEBs had to go into the staff room and make coffee as a fixed duty. Here each person makes her own coffee. The first person plus[illegible]ot in and each person washes up her own cup. [illegible] are not so divided up and formal here. There is more discussion between teachers and assistants... The staff is more relaxed about the kids finishing their meals.

The head teacher, talking especially about the trainees, put it this way:

> Some schools give them more drudgery. Here we try to make even the trainees responsible in a very small degree from the very first beginning, for the actual child. Whereas other people say, well it's your job to keep that tidy and the pictures on the wall, you mix the paint, you put up the paintings, you mend the books, we don't. They do have to do the bulk of those sorts of jobs, and they may have mothers in to help, but we also do ensure that they have actual time dealing with children ... so that they - we think - recharge their whole batteries through the satisfaction of seeing improvement in children, and of developing close relationships with children, and being able to help children over emotional problems, and things of this sort, and they are absolutely a god-send for that.

i. The Nursery Units: Nursery Nurses

Since the teacher in charge of each nursery unit works with several assistants (3 nursery nurses and 1 trainee in the larger unit), it follows that the teacher's main responsibility is to organise the assistants' work with groups of children. Nursery activities include "free play" periods when all the children in the unit choose freely from some 40 different structured play situations (e.g. water and sand, woodwork, games, hospital, etc.) all under the general guidance and supervision of the teacher and assistants present. But the primary activity unit for many if not most nursery activities is the "family group", each group of 10 children being led by a "nursery nurse" or an experienced trainee.

Activities in the family groups are mainly structured around "themes" or "projects" which may last a week or so. The family group is also the child's home group for visits to parks, museums, etc., and for meals (for those children who have lunch at school). A theme such as "water" or "the seaside" is decided by the teacher, who also plans the activities around the theme, in consultation with the assistants.

As to the amount of responsibility in implementing the plan, the difference between the teacher and the assistants seemed in many ways to be a matter of degree. The nursery teachers also do some more systematic

"teaching", for example singling out children who seem to be in special need and working on conceptual development (shapes, colours) with such children. Or the teacher may select out the children nearing infant school age, for special tuition. In such teaching sessions, the teacher will use the theme from the family group work and manipulate the theme (e.g. by means of flash cards or a felt board) for such purposes as "pre-reading", "pre-writing", or counting, adding, and subtracting. In the family groups, the "nursery nurses" also attempt to manipulate the themes to teach concepts, but less complex ones. For example, while the teacher may strive to convey concepts of addition and subtraction, the assistants may limit their attempt to "counting".

Because assistants work on their own with "family groups" and are continually busy with children, "routine" chores closely related to the children's ongoing activities tend to be done by whoever has the time, or by the teacher and assistants together. For example: organising the lay-out of the room, distributing and collecting material, clearing away materials and equipment. Assistents may do more of such chores, but the teacher also helps out. There are tasks which normally are done only by the assistants, such as wiping off tables, or looking after children when they are watching educational television, or accompanying the children when they are moving some place within the school in a group; but there are no hard rules. The nursery has also certain fixed daily and weekly routines which are listed on the wall as a reminder for everyone. Among the fixed morning routines would be helping children with their coats, shoes etc., watering plants, sharpen pencils, checking that needed supplies are ready. Evening routines include cleaning and tidying up. At the end of each week there are more major cleaning routines and checks (e.g. wash dolls' bed if necessary). Most of these jobs are done by the assistants.

Apart from organising, planning, and more structured teaching, certain other tasks are the teacher's preserve. The teachers feel that it is natural and necessary that they should handle "foreign affairs": relations with parents or any outside authority. On the other hand, assistants are given continuous responsibility, on their own, for children in the family groups and may feel they can "chat up the mums more easily" because of lesser social distance. This may lead to friction if assistants break the unspoken rule and take it upon themselves to deal directly with parents. The principle of excluding assistants from "foreign affairs" also applies to the infant school, and there the head teacher naturally plays a dominant part in dealing with parents.

ii. The Infant School: "Welfare Assistants"

Some seemingly "routine" chores are reserved for teachers at Tameside, both in the nursery and the infant school: taking attendance and collecting lunch money from children who are staying for lunch. Because the children are so very young (nearly all Tameside pupils would in a country like Sweden or Norway be below the age of compulsory schooling), it is felt that the teacher, who liaises with the families, should be the first person to know if a child is not coming to school. The rationale for the teacher collecting lunch money is similar: "It is important that the teacher knows who is staying for dinner (lunch) and who is being picked up by grandma; so she collects the dinner money to have a list of who is staying and who is going home." Especially in the infant school it would be impractical for the welfare assistant to take attendance or to be responsible for other important fixed routines, because she circulates among different classes and could therefore not easily be responsible for fixed every-day duties in any one class.

Although there are only 2 welfare assistants to 7 classes in the infant school, the policy of "stretching" them means that they are timetabled to work with groups of children, under the direction of teachers, nearly the entire time. It also means that routine chores are not seen as the exclusive preserve of assistants. Infant teachers naturally plan and organise the activities in their class. It is a teacher - not an assistant - who is continuously working with children in their "family group" equivalent: the class. But also in the infant school, there is a broad area of activities between key teaching tasks and routines which are shared by the teacher and the assistant, when there is an assistant in the classroom (cfr. Duthie's "supervisory" tasks in Chapter I Section 2b).

One of the two welfare assistants works in the four vertically integrated classes which include the $4\frac{1}{2}$ - 6 year-olds. She spends half a day at a time with each class, and circulates among the classes according to a timetable worked out for a 6-week period. Every week she spends 2 or 3 half-days with each class. The timetable is flexible in the sense that the teachers can trade off their time if a special need arises, e.g. for an excursion, without consulting the head teacher. Every other week the assistant spends one morning session working directly with the head teacher, doing "general duties" (e.g. putting up pictures in the hall).

In principle, it is up to each teacher how to make use of the assistant. The assistant usually - but not always - works under the teacher's direction in the classroom. But should the teacher prefer to, she can send the welfare assistant off with material to work somewhere else. The teachers stress that the main difference between the two is that the teacher organises, plans, introduces new topics, addresses the entire class and works with groups needy of special attention, while the welfare assistant supervises individual pupils or smaller groups working on activities which have been prestructured by the teacher: "I coordinate all the work that is going on in my class, I see the whole, the general aims are my structure." "I would ask the welfare assistant or a trainee to supervise work which I know the children can do, to keep them working, while I introduce something new to another group ... But I would never leave an assistant to introduce new work for the children." "She gives me time to become more of an organiser. I can pay more attention to the children who are slower or faster than others in the class." Examples of "prestructured" activities supervised by the welfare assistant or by trainees would be: children playing an educational game (word games, mathematical games), or children reading (particularly children who have made the break-through to fairly fluent reading).

The assistants do attend to routine "house keeping" tasks as well. One teacher found it useful to post a list of "routines" that needed doing, on the wall so that there should be no need for a welfare assistant or a student to ask what to do next. But teachers also do such chores, partly because there is not always an assistant present and because the assistant may be busy with a group of children when a task needs doing. Hence, both assistant and teacher distribute and collect material, lead the children in tidying up etc., though the teacher will do much less such work when she is assisted by the welfare assistant or a trainee.

The other welfare assistant in the infant school is based permanently in the activity area. Although one of the class teachers has the overall responsibility for organising the activity area, it is very much the welfare assistant's home base. In this area, it is the teachers with their combined classes who rotate, the assistant stays.

At the beginning of each day the welfare assistant prepares the needed supply of materials (e.g. clay, water, milk) and checks that the play settings are ready. During the 45-minute play sessions, the assistant and the "visiting" teacher - seemingly on a very equal footing - guide and supervise children in their play, moving between the different activities. At the beginning of the morning play sessions, the assistant serves the children "milk and biscuits", unless a "mum" has come in to help with that. At the end of the day, some activities need to be restocked and made ready for the next day, and there is a need to clean and tidy up. Sometimes equipment breaks, and the assistant then tries to do simple repairs herself, or she may ask the caretaker to help out with more difficult repair work.

D. General Comments

The Tameside policy of "stretching" assistants seems to be based on a careful recruitment of helpers. The involvement of the school in the NNEB course makes assistants more abundantly available during the year. It also facilitates recruitment of well vetted candidates when vacancies arise. The policy of making each "dinner lady" responsible for her own class during the mid-day break and of encouraging them to give voluntary assistance has also served as an informal way of recruiting assistants who are "known to be right for the school". The teachers all stress very much the importance that an assistant be "the right sort of person" and that formal qualifications are not enough: "I would rather have an unqualified person I know to be right for our system, than to hang around waiting for a qualified one who may or may not be good." The two assistants who did not have the NNEB Certificate and who had to leave Tameside because of the recent cut-backs, had both been recruited in this way. Both had originally come as "dinner ladies" but had after some time been asked if they would like to work as full-time welfare assistants because they had proven their value through voluntary assistance. Because of careful selection, some of the assistants at Tameside have a long experience of work in schools. For example, the welfare assistant who works in the infant school classrooms, worked for some years in another school as an unqualified teacher with a class of her own, during the years of teacher shortage. The infant school teachers therefore have difficulties answering questions in the abstract about what "teachers should do and assistants should do", and say that it depends on how capable an assistant is, seeing themselves as lucky.

An infant school class is the teacher's domain, and teachers have different styles of working. An assistant going to work for a new teacher finds that it takes a few weeks before she gets used to the teacher's style of working. For assistants, clearly accepting that the teacher is in charge, and ability to adapt to different teachers seem to be important requirements for a relationship without friction.

The seamy side of personal relations in a school is not easily revealed to an outsider visiting a school for a few days. But the head teacher and the interviewed teachers and assistants gave the consistent impression that assistants were given more responsibility at Tameside than what is usual, and that there was little friction between teachers and assistants. The teachers felt it was a definite loss to the school that two welfare assistants had to leave because of the financial cut-backs. One teacher who laments their loss because she now has "less time for individual tuition of children, and fewer activities can be sustained at a time", says that "it would be lovely to have an assistant in every room all the time because one could then get so much more done with children". This view is echoed by others.

But at the same time teachers emphasize the importance of getting the "right kind of person" as an assistant, and feel that their school has been fortunate in avoiding personality clashes: "I can remember another school, when I was two years out of college and had an assistant who was much older than me. It did not work out well at all". The implied conclusion seems to be that Tameside teachers value their assistants highly, but that they feel it is very important that teachers and assistants be personally compatible. One is struck by the importance of informal or personal vetting of potential recruits, in order to ensure that the assistants employed are the "right persons".

Tameside seems successful in its systematic attempts to inform parents about a pupil's progress and general situation at school. It also seems to make great attempts to gather relevant information about each child's home circumstances. Attempts to go further, and involve parents as informal contributors to the work of the school seem less successful, even though this school undoubtedly does more than most schools in this respects. Teachers at Tameside seem very conscious of working in a "deprived neighbourhood" and that involving parents is very difficult in such circumstances.

3. "OAK HILL" MIDDLE SCHOOL

"Oak Hill" is a middle school in "Greenham"*, an education authority and suburban borough in the western part of the greater London area. Schools in the authority were fully reorganised in 1974, when comprehensive first, middle and high schools were established, with transfer at the ages of 8+ and 12+. Formerly pupils transferred at age 7+ from an infant school to a junior school, and from a junior school to a grammar school or secondary modern school or a comprehensive school at 11+. Oak Hill was formerly a junior school. The change to middle school status involved an attempt to upgrade the curriculum: "to combine the best of primary school teaching based on an integrated approach to learning through personal experience, with the increasing acquisition of the deepening special interests and more sophisticated skills ... usually associated with the secondary school". The upgrading effort meant provision of special equipment and facilities which junior schools do not have. Oak Hill was given a "home economics" area, and a woodwork and physical science area, as well as a certain amount of special mathematical equipment. Partly to look after these new facilities, middle schools in Greenham were each given a "general assistant".

Until three years ago Oak Hill had a special reception class (class of first year pupils) for immigrant children, who were bussed in from another part of Greenham because of a shortage of school places in their neighbourhood. To provide extra help for children whose home language was not English, the school was given an above-average staffing ratio, i.e. an extra "welfare assistant" to help the teacher of the immigrant reception class. The school still has a large proportion of such children (about 25%), but some years ago fully 40 per cent of the children came from immigrant families, mostly Indian and especially Sikhs. Now younger immigrant children are being routed elsewhere.

Greenham is a socially mixed borough. Like other boroughs in outer London it has a relatively high proportion of owner-occupied households: around 50 per cent in the district surrounding Oak Hill school. There

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* "Oakhill" and "Greenham" are fictitious names because it is the policy of this local education authority not to reveal the names of schools involved in studies of this kind.

is relatively little public housing in Greenham; 30-40 per cent of the households were living in privately rented furnished accommodations in the late 1960s. The neighbourhood immediately around Oak Hill school also seems rather mixed, perhaps with a preponderance of lower-middle class homes. Right next to the school a public housing development is nearing completion. These housing units are gradually being filled up. At the school the impression is that a disproportionate proportion of these children come from broken homes or have "social problems" for other reasons. It is felt that this new group of children often need remedial help.

A special feature of Oak Hill is that it has a special unit for partially hearing children attached to it. The unit functions in many ways as a "school within the school", with its own staff, space, and special equipment although the children "integrate" with others for special purposes. The unit is very small; and though it is designed for maximum of 16 children it has at present only 4, because one of the two teachers in the unit is on secondment.

A. Enrolment and Staffing

In 1976-77 there are about 300 children at Oak Hill. With the housing development next door filling up, the number of children might go up to about 400 next year, in spite of the fact that the number of children brought in by bus from outside the neighbourhood is going down. There are more children on the site, however, for Oak Hill shares a "campus" with 2 other schools, a first school and another middle school with a different catchment area. There are 12 classes, 3 for each age grade. Average class size is exceptionally small: about 25 children, but it is likely to increase during the year. The four children in the partially hearing unit are taught together in the same room. At present the school is overstaffed according to the standards of the borough: "One teacher is leaving at Christmas, and won't be replaced unless numbers go up very quickly".

i. The Teachers

Oak Hill has 12 regular class teachers, one for each classroom group. In addition, there are two full-time teachers providing remedial back-up for the class teachers. Another teacher is shared with the other middle school on the same site. She teaches French, a subject studied by most children in their top two years. Four teachers are men. In addition to this "main school" staff, there are two full-time teachers in the partially hearing unit, both specialists in their field. One is on a leave of absence (on secondment), the other is new to the school.

During the last 3 years Greenham - like other LEAs - has had a dramatically changing staffing situation. Previously Oak Hill had "some turn-over, but teachers have usually left for specific reasons, such as promotion or going to their home district." The education office in the borough used to play a more direct part than at present in the hiring of staff. The head teacher of a school used to have no choice at all in hiring staff coming directly from teacher training. Partly to cope with the enormous number of applications for present vacancies, direct application to each school has now been introduced in the borough. A post is advertised, the head teacher draws up a short-list, and an adviser from the education office joins the head teacher in interviewing candidates. The same procedure is used for employing "welfare assistants" and "general assistants" except that the post is then advertised more locally.

ii. Welfare Assistants and a General Assistant

In Greenham "welfare assistants" are provided for both first schools and middle schools but not in high schools - which instead have laboratory assistants and woodwork assistants, the hours depending on school size. In first schools, the number of welfare assistants depends on the number of "reception" classes (classes of beginning pupils). The smallest schools are given 1 welfare assistant, schools having between 2 and 3 reception classes receive 2 assistants, and 3 assistants are provided if the entry is more than 3 classroom groups. Middle schools - regardless of size - are normally given only one welfare assistant. But schools are staffed more generously if they have a "high" proportion of immigrant children. Thus, middle schools are given an extra welfare assistant if 25 per cent of more pupils come from immigrant homes. Because of its high proportion of immigrants in the past, Oak Hill has 2 welfare assistants in the main school. In addition, the unit for partially hearing children has been given an assistant of its own.

Greenham middle schools have also one "general assistant" - the hours depending on enrolment. At Oak Hill, the hours do not add up to a full-time post, and some secretarial/clerical work ($6\frac{1}{2}$ hours per week) has been added to give the general assistant a full-time job.

Only the assistant in the partially hearing unit has anything like a formal qualification for her job. She holds the NNEB Certificate (cfr. Section 1A) which makes her a trained "nursery nurse" qualified to work as an assistant in infant schools or first schools, though it is formally no qualification for the middle school level. She also has experience from having organised and run a private play group for children of pre-school age. She has worked several years in a municipal day nursery where she had some supervisory responsibility, e.g. having a NNEB student-trainee working under her direction. After taking up her present job, she attended a 2-day course at Leeds University for working with partially hearing children. She has been at Oak Hill for 3 years, and has during these 3 years worked with 4 different teachers, all in the special unit.

The two welfare assistants in the "main school" are less formally qualified. Apart from a First Aid course required of all welfare assistants they have no special formal qualification. But both have years of experience from working with groups of children. One of them has been at the school for 11 years. Until 3 years ago she worked directly under the teacher in charge of the special reception class which the school then had for immigrant children. She then functioned very much like a "teacher's aide": "working in the classroom under the direction of the teacher, sitting with children, reading with them, having conversation with them because you must remember that they were learning English". When the special reception class was discontinued, her classroom participation became very limited, to her apparent regret. Her job is no longer distinct from that of the other welfare assistant. The other welfare assistant has been at Oak Hill for three years. Before she had experience as a Brownie leader (the Brownies are "junior" Girl Guides).

The general assistant has no special formal qualification either, apart from a short course in audio-visual aids taken after she had been given her job. But she has had the experience of organising and working for $6\frac{1}{2}$ years in a play group. She has been at Oak Hill since the school became a middle school (and the post of "general assistant" was established). She applied for the job because she wanted to follow up the school experience of her own children by working with children of the same age as them.

iii. Specialist Support Staff

The school does not have a librarian as such, but one of the teachers has a special responsibility for the school library. Greenham has 4 child guidance centres, each serving a large number of schools. Each centre has a team of psychiatrists, educational psychologists, social workers and remedial teachers. They provide back-up for the schools in helping children with severe emotional and learning problems. One remedial teacher from this centre works regularly 4 half-days a week at Oak Hill. The school is also in the area of an education welfare officer (who is based at the central education office in Greenham). The education welfare officer is in weekly contact with the head teacher and visits the homes of children who are absent from school or in need of special help. Every year the school doctor comes in to do a major medical examination. The school nurse may visit more regularly (to "check hair and feet").

iv. Dining Room Supervisors

There are 5 "dinner ladies" at the school, responsible for supervising children in the dining hall and play ground during the lunch break. Welfare assistants and teacher volunteers also share such supervision on a rota system. The dinner ladies at Oak Hill do not normally involve themselves in other school activities outside the work they are paid for, except on rare occasions: e.g. they have helped with the annual school "jumble sale".

v. Other Assistants and Support Staff

The school has a full-time secretary (plus the added clerical help given by the general assistant). The three schools on the same site share custodial and kitchen staff, though each school has its own dining room (lunch room).

Each year students from the local college of education come in to do practice teaching, usually about 2 students each term. Especially students in their final year are often of some use to the school. They work with groups within the classroom and come along on school visits sometimes. The presence of student teachers also helps the head teacher to redeploy staff in order to "cover" if a teacher is unexpectedly absent, because students in their final year are able to assume responsibility for individual lessons. But individual students probably do not spend enough time at the school - at the most 8 weeks, to become fully functioning members of the school.

Parents do not seem to play an active part in the life of the school, nor does it seem to be school policy to involve parents in the working of the school. Sometimes parents may come along on excursions and visits, but it is not a regular feature of such activities. It is not generally felt to be "needed to ask parents along for excursions", nor do parents help to run the recently organised "clubs" for pupils after school hours. There is no parent teacher organisation; some teachers feel that PTAs tend to be "cliques" and only reach a few parents.

B. <u>The Working of the School</u>

Oak Hill is "unusual" in having a partially hearing unit (which is very much a separate enclave) and at present a very favourable staffing

ratio. But the superficial impression is that there is little that would make this school distinctly different from other middle schools in respect of curriculum and teaching style. In the "main" school, the children are normally taught by their class teacher, who does not normally follow the group up through the grades. The classes are grouped completely according to age. There is no fixed ability "streaming" but slow children are taken out of their home classes for special remedial sessions. High achievers are also given special group tuition. All children re-group in some subjects. For example, classes are combined for watching educational television. First year children re-group for remedial work, for music and English. The top year classes combine for "arts and crafts" every Wednesday afternoon. The children are grouped by activity, partly by choice and partly by a rota system, doing, e.g. woodwork, cooking, needle-work, art. Teachers are redeployed for arts and crafts in order to make use of the special talents which some teachers have and to provide one teacher for each of the 5 ongoing activities. The two welfare assistants and the general assistant also help out during these sessions, so that the three classes combined are then supervised by 8 adults.

For some special occasions individual class teachers may cooperate and teach their groups on a joint basis, for example, preparation and follow-up in connection with a school trip. But joint work is not a regular feature of the working of the school. The head teacher says, she would like to see more cooperation among staff but feels that the physical structure of the school - separate classrooms strung out along corridors - very much limits the scope for "open-plan type activities".

Recently ten teachers at Oak Hill have taken the initiative to run - without any special renumeration - voluntary "club" activities for children in the afternoon after school hours. The clubs meet once a week and are primarily intended for the older children but anyone can join. The "clubs" include football, arts and crafts, table tennis, and gardening.

The school has links with a school in France, and an exchange visit is arranged each year. It was asked by the local mathematics adviser to participate as a pilot school in a mathematics curriculum development project that involves i.e. teaching by means of work cards. "Sometimes people come to see how it goes".

The style of teaching in the partially hearing unit is naturally conditioned by the very special needs of the children and by the small size of the group: only 4 children. They need a great deal of individual attention and they get it. They vary in age from 7 to 12. Because of their handicap, they lag behind their age peers in basic linguistic and conceptual development. The severity of this lag varies from child to child. Their very great difficulties give them frequent frustrations and there are often emotional "crises": "Yesterday, (a child) was disturbed, wanted to go home all the time. One of us had to be with him all the time. Often deaf children have emotional difficulties and difficult behaviour. They use hands and legs to demonstrate how they feel because they don't have the means to express themselves. They get frustrated."

Because of the needs of the children, the daily work of the unit is probably closer to teaching styles found in some in "informal" English infant schools (or first schools) than it resembles work in other middle school classes. The teachers relate more diffusely to the children; and

the work is each week structured around a "theme" picked by the teacher. Though the unit in many ways is "a school within a school", the children join children from other classes for physical education (games, swimming, etc.). Two of the children also "integrate" in arts and crafts. They share playground with the other children.

C. The Work of the Assistants

i. Job Descriptions

Unlike many other LEAs, Greenham has issued job descriptions for "welfare assistants" and "general assistants", though these are phrased in very general terms. The "duties" of welfare assistants in first schools and middle schools stress "mothering" functions outside the classroom and read as follows:

- To assist children to undress and dress and to change shoes and wet clothing when necessary.
- To supervise cloakrooms, see that wet clothing is put to dry and find "lost" clothing.
- To take younger children to toilet and attend to children who soil underclothes.
- To supervise use of drinking fountains at playtime.
- To accompany children to School Clinic for treatment.
- To attend to minor accidents and give first aid; to accompany serious cases to hospital; to attend to children who are taken ill at school and to take them home if necessary.
- To be responsible for the collection and distribution of laundry, to repair linen as necessary and mark new articles.
- To help teachers prepare activities, i.e. set out and put away agility apparatus, large toys, sand trays etc., and fill water troughs. Clean and repair small apparatus and toys.
- To give any other assistance which the Head may require.

For "general assistants" - who are only found in middle schools or combined first and middle schools, the text is:

- To assist with the maintenance of audio visual aids, science, home economics and craft apparatus and the practical areas and facilities provided for Middle School children.
- To be responsible for the safety of equipment.
- To ensure that all tools and equipment are stored in the correct condition and place after use and are available as required for teaching purposes.
- To be competent in dealing with animals and to be able to supervise the children in the care of these.
- To give any other assistance which the Head will require within the general scope of the above duties.

The last item in each list of "duties" points to the intended flexibility that a head of school should have in determining the more precise nature of their work.

ii. The Assistant in the Partially Hearing Unit

The assistant in the unit functions very much like the "teacher's aides" proposed by the Plowden report. Most of her time she works with children in a structured learing situation. Her function is distinctly different from the welfare assistants in the "main" school and resembles more the role played by assistants at Tameside school who also were trained as NNEB "nursery nurses". Because the assistant in the partially hearing unit works with the same children all the time, she - like the teacher - relates to the children in a diffuse, rather personal way. She is also seen as a special case by other staff at Oak Hill, as "really a bit more than a welfare assistant".

The amount of responsibility given her is increased by the fact that there is at present only one teacher in the unit. Because the teacher is in her probationary year and for that reason is required to acquire some experience from teaching "normal" children as well as deaf ones, the teacher works in the main school for $2\frac{1}{2}$ afternoons each week: one-fourth of her teaching time. The teacher then leaves work for the children in the unit to do, especially needlework and cooking (practical activities) but also some work with numbers. The assistant is then the only person in charge of the children and guides and supervises them in the work that the teacher has planned for them. Especially during these periods, any observer would probably find it difficult not to characterise the assistant's work as "teaching" although the work has been planned in advance by the teacher.

During the week the teacher and the assistant work together in the following way: each week the teacher prepares a plan which she discusses with the assistant. She also tells the children every Monday what they will be doing during the week. Each day the teacher discusses with the assistant what she hopes to cover during the day. Because the assistant has 3 years experience in her job, she sometimes also has ideas of her own which she suggests to the teacher. These suggestions primarily concern the implementation of the themes which the teacher has chosen, and the teacher then "either approves or she doesn't". Not only because they seem personally compatible, but probably also because the unit is a separate enclave within the school and there are at present no other teachers of deaf children at the school, the teacher and assistant spend much time talking to each other about their work.

In the actual teaching the two seemingly work closely together giving individual attention to children and both spending much time talking with children: "We have to back the language up all the time in this class, so things are repeated as much as possible". The assistant does most of the preparing of materials and equipment but also the teacher takes a keen interest in details, to the extent of preparing most of her work cards herself.

There are certain out-of-classroom duties which only the assistant does. The assistant meets the partially hearing children at the swimming pool every Tuesday morning, when they "integrate" for swimming lessons, and she escorts the children back to the school afterwards. Every day she goes to the lunch room to sit with the children during the meal. The assistant also does general play-ground supervision once a week. On the other hand, there are housekeeping chores which are done neither by the teacher nor the assistant but by the welfare assistants and general

assistant in the main school, as part of their functions for the school as a whole: copying, stock checking and distribution.

One would think that the combination of a teacher new to the school and fresh from college (and younger than the assistant), and an experienced and trained assistant who has been working for some years with emotionally tiring children ("It is very nice but very tiring work") could easily lead to conflict between the two. However, both seem very open about their relationship and stress that they have gotten along excellently during the short period they have worked together. Both seem keenly interested in their work and convey an air of competence; it may well be that before teachers can feel at ease about exposing their vulnerabilities to another adult in a classroom situation they need a sense of confidence about their own effort. The potential for conflict also seems to be reduced because the assistant balances her occasional suggestions to the teacher with a strong, nearly self-effacing belief of being there to serve the teacher: "She does the actual teaching with the children. I see my role as being there to make life as easy as possible for the teacher and that what she plans to do in one day gets done, that the children carry out her wishes". "I do my best to get it done ... If she is happy, then I am happy". The assistant also thinks it is important for an assistant to adapt to a teacher's style of working: "I have worked with five different teachers in this unit. Each of them has her own style, and I do my best just to work in".

Both the teacher and the assistant feel that they are "lucky" to get along so well and know of cases when others in similar circumstances have had difficulties. The assistant has previously had such an experience herself, of a teacher "who was very difficult to work with. I used to come out and say 'I would stand on my head if it only could make her happy'. I really don't mind what I do. If it makes the teacher happy, that's fine".

iii. Welfare Assistants in the "Main" School

Some of the "welfare" functions mentioned in the job description for welfare assistants become less important in a middle school than in a first school: 8 - 12 year-olds are less likely to need help with their clothes or to go to the toilet. There is less need to "wipe tears and noses". But the "cuts and bruises" function remains important: attending to minor accidents, First Aid, and generally to look after sick children. In a school of more than 300 children there will be some cases practically every day. The home base of the welfare assistants is at Oak Hill school characteristically in "the medical room". Attending to minor accidents and sickness may not normally take much time, but such events are irregular and break up other activities that the assistants may be involved in. Though less important than in a first school, the "mothering" part of looking after children who have hurt themselves is still central to the welfare assistant's role: "If you see a child who has got problems, you just give them a cuddle, don't you?"

Mostly the assistants are "on call" but a number of jobs are timetabled. One morning each week one of the assistants helps teachers take 3 classes to the swimming pool (which is at some distance) and back again. Once a fortnight each of them does play-ground duty in the morning and during the breaks. They also do "corridor duty" during the breaks, once a fortnight. However, in respect of these fortnightly tasks they are on the same schedule

as the teaching staff, so that play-ground duty is not a task primarily for the assistants. Once a week the assistants supervise children in the lunch room, during the meal, but many teachers also partake voluntarily in such supervision (in return for a meal). At least one hour every Tuesday afternoon (more time at the beginning of the term), the assistants check and distribute stock from the stockroom, expediting requests from teachers which have been approved by the head teacher. Wednesday afternoon, they assist during the arts and crafts activities for the top-year children, in the needlework and cooking areas, supervising and guiding children under the general direction of a teacher. This is the only regular occasion when they work as a "teacher's aide". A main rationale for their assistance is ensuring that the children do not hurt themselves when they are working with sharp tools or hot equipment. In needlework the teacher needs an assistant "because there one would otherwise have long queue of children waiting to have advice". At the end of these sessions one of their functions is to "see that children tidy things away properly and that they wash up".

There are also certain fixed tasks every day. At the end of each day the assistants help children getting on school buses. A recurrent duty during the day is to serve coffee or tea in the staff room and to wash up afterwards. Teachers make coffee themselves if they want it first thing in the morning, but the welfare assistants wash up. At 11 o'clock the assistants serve coffee for the staff during the morning break, and then wash up afterwards. Again, in the afternoon there is tea to serve in the staffroom at 2 o'clock and to wash up afterwards. During the breaks th assistants are not in any sense "excluded" from the staffroom, but the "medical room" next door seems very much to be their home base also because "cuts and bruises" cases frequently occur during breaks.

Most of the time they are "on call" and teachers approach assistants directly if they need help, for example to put up art work in the corridor, xeroxing, or help from an extra adult on an excursion. But they are hardly ever asked to give direct assistance during teaching, apart from the time-tabled help with "arts and crafts": "They don't come into classes to do actual teaching duties, but assist in a general way, distributing stock, getting ready, putting away".

In between their timetabled functions and meeting requests from teachers, they "fill in" with other activities such as keeping the stock-room tidy, and mending library books. They emphasize that they are always kept busy and that much time is devoted to "unpredictable" jobs: "Everything we do as it comes up, we can't say to you we are going to do such and such a thing at such and such a time. Various emergencies with children, all sorts of things happen".

They also emphasize that their timetable activities are not "fixed" in the sense that they remain the same over a long period. The schedule could be changed if the head teacher sees a need to do so. Thus, at one time the welfare assistants did playground duty every day.

During the school year there all sorts of special events which affect the assistants' work: "tooling up" at the beginning of the year, medical and dental examinations, harvest festival, Christmas, Easter, excursions and trips, special events at the end of the year. Indeed, such "special" events are as characteristic of the daily work of schools as are activities

in the weekly timetable (Cfr. Hilsum and Cane, 1971, ch. 17). Assistants play an active part in such all-school events. For example, for the annual "harvest festival" children bring parcels in to distribute to old people in the neighbourhood. The assistants receive and help to wrap such gifts and in organising their distribution. They also assist during the annual medical examinations and liaise directly with the nurse about each child (e.g. checking that the nurse has the correct address of each child, etc.). They escort children from the classrooms and look after them during the examination. Similarly, the assistants each year escort groups of children to the dental clinic.

On rare occasions it does happen that a welfare assistant is asked to "look after" an entire class for a short period, in spite of the fact that they otherwise rarely work with teachers in the classroom - apart from the "arts and crafts" classes which are felt to be "special" because of their practical nature. Because of its favourable staffing ratio the school is not given any supply teachers when teachers are absent, and the head teacher needs to find staff within the school in order to "cover". As a last resort a welfare assistant may be called in, for example: if a teacher is ill and the head teacher is teaching the class and then a parent comes to see the head. But the head teacher is careful to stress that "in an emergency any arrangement is better than none", that "it is not a good thing", and that she would ask other teachers to set work for the class. The welfare assistant would then only "sit with the class, minding them for a while".

iv. The General Assistant

The general assistant and the welfare assistants have different tasks but they also overlap or "blend into each other" to some extent. Also the general assistant helps to supervise children during "arts and crafts" on Wednesday afternoon, but she stays in the woodwork area, assisting in the preparation of materials and supplying tools, looking after children so they don't cut themselves, and helping to clear up afterwards. The general assistant has also responsibility for equipment in the cooking area.

While the welfare assistants distribute and check stock, the general assistant - as part of her $6\frac{1}{2}$ hours each week of "clerical work" - also checks stock and helps the school secretary order new stock. The general assistant is less "on call" for teachers, though she is the person responsible for audio-visual equipment and helps to operate such equipment. She works more according to a timetable than the welfare assistants and has special responsibility for "hardware", especially equipment in the science, woodwork, and cooking areas. One of her schedules tasks is to prepare equipment for science classes and to assist during such classes if necessary ($2\frac{1}{2}$ half-days a week).

She is also every week responsible for recording a number of educational radio programmes and to make the recordings available to the teachers using them. At least 5 such programmes, usually of 20 minutes duration, need to be taped at fixed times throughout the week. During the recordings she "fills in" with other work, e.g. making out or checking file cards. She is also timetabled to prepare and check TV sets, so that teachers can rely on their being ready for use when needed. Nearly every day of the week, this is a fixed duty especially during the morning hours.

In general, while the welfare assistants have "pupil welfare", serving tea and coffee, and distributing materials as core functions, the core functions of the general assistant are more structured around maintaining and operating equipment. While the welfare assistants are mostly "on call", the activities of the general assistant are more structured by a fixed timetable.

D. General Comments

The "assistants" at Oak Hill school perform distinctly different roles. The assistant in the partially hearing unit works closely with one teacher and the same small group of children all the time, assisting in structured learning situations. In the main school, the assistants' role in class is normally confined to materials and media back-up. Only in "practical" subjects, which teachers feel are "special" - mainly because of safety hazards, do the assistants supervise children in learning situations. In other subjects, such as English and mathematics, they are hardly used at all, not even for supervision of children watching educational television. Given the fact that the main school has 3 assistants available - undoubtedly an unusually high number for an English school of this type and size, one wonders if they could not be used more extensively as an "extra hand" in the classroom. On the other hand, two days of visiting is undoubtedly too shallow a base for any pronouncement about how staff "ought to be deployed". The generous provision of teaching staff is perhaps a disincentive to making more use of assistants for pedagogic purposes.

What is certain is that, outside of the partially hearing unit, the assistants are not used in order to make possible a certain pedagogic style. They primarily provide media back-up and relieve teachers of out-of-class housekeeping chores: "The presence of welfare assistants has taken away a lot of non-teaching duties". On the other hand, a number of seemingly routine chores which are intrinsic to the every-day rhythm of classroom work are still done by teachers, distributing materials to pupils and collecting materials, taking attendance, collecting lunch money. Compared to assistants at Tameside infant school and Julian's primary school (an account of the letter to follow), the assistants in the main school at Oak Hill perform a more limited role - although this limited role is undoubtedly fairly typical of most junior and middle schools (which are, however, less generously staffed with assistants).

Interviews with some teachers at Oak Hill gave the impression that while they very much appreciated the assistants as capable persons, they felt at the same time protective of their professional functions on grounds of principle. Only in "practical" subjects did they concede the need to have an assistant present during teaching:

> "No teacher would mind having a Mrs X (X = the name of the assistant) in her class in any case ... They can do a variety of jobs for you. But the thing with welfare assistants of any kind is that they are not teachers; so the help they can give is limited, in theory in any case. But if you can get someone like Mrs Y (another assistant) who is a very capable person who could certainly take my cookery for me. Having no training as a teacher, she could take my group and I could not be there and the whole thing could go along just as well because she is a perfectly capable person ... But the whole point is that if you are going to have a welfare assistant teach your class, you should have another teacher, shouldn't you?"

The teachers interviewed also stress that they would not want to be placed in a situation where they would be expected to work closely with any person not well known to them or not compatible with them, be that an assistant or another teacher: "It depends, I couldn't work with just anyone, I couldn't work with any teacher". In this they echoed the teachers at Tameside infant school: personal compatibility is very important if two adults are to work closely together in a classroom situation.

4. JULIAN'S PRIMARY SCHOOL

Julian's Primary School is a combined infant and junior school, enrolling children from age 5 (sometimes 4½) to 11+. The infant department includes the 5-7 year-olds. The school is located in Wandsworth, a borough in the Inner London Education Authority. It receives pupils from a socially mixed area. There is in the catchment area a mixture of multi-occupied buildings and clusters of owner-occupied, middle class homes. About 20 per cent of the children are of immigrant background, mainly West Indian but with an increasing number of Asians. In terms of occupation of the father, both immigrant and indigenous families range from unskilled to professional worker. The catchment area is probably too varied to have the characteristics of "a community", but since it opened in 1968 the working of the school has probably contributed to a sense of community among many parents: "It has been Junion's policy... to foster a school community policy on the assumption that an interest in education of their children is a common bond that could unite all families". Here - as at Tameside school - continuity in parent-school relations has been furthered by the fact that the school includes two educational stages.

Comprehensive secondary schools have been in existence for some time in Inner London, but grammar schools have continued as well. At Julian's, at age 11+ about 10 or 12 children out of a class of 35 have each year continued to a grammar school. In 1976-77 the last grammar school in the area is "going comprehensive"; and all children are now likely to continue in a comprehensive school. Children leaving Julian's are spread on a number of secondary schools; usually no more than four children end up in the same school. This unusually dispersed destination of the children is due to peculiarities in the location of the school relative to the main recruitment areas of secondary schools in the borough. Staff at Julian's much regret this fragmentation of their "top year" class as it leaves the school, because it means presumably the breaking down of school-parent networks which staff would like to see transferred to secondary schools receiving their top year juniors.

Compared to other local education authorities (LEAs), the Inner London Education Authority (ILEA) has an unusually high level of expenditure per child. At the same time, heads of schools in Inner London are given greater flexibility in the use of resources. ILEA has for some years been committed to reducing the average class size to 30 children - though the financial "squeeze" has slowed implementation down. Inner London schools are also unusually well supplied with "ancillary" staff. Secondary schools usually have a laboratory technician and a woodwork technician. Sometimes home economics and music departments in secondary schools are also provided with "ancillary assistants" responsible for "preparation and maintenance of equipment and materials, routine supervision and checking of stock, daily accounting and shopping". Depending on the complexity and extent of audio-visual equipment in a school, secondary schools in Inner London are sometimes given a special "Media Resources Officer". They are also given a part-time or full-time school librarian, depending on school size.

In infant and junior schools, ancillary staff in ILEA perform less subject-specialised functions. Provision is made for "primary helpers" in these stages of education; sometimes they are referred to as "infant helpers" or "women helpers". Their functions at most school are similar to "welfare assistants" in other LEAs. They do not normally assist in structured learning situations but mainly perform "general school duties". As in other LEAs (e.g. Greenham and Sandwell), provision for such helpers is more generous in primary schools having "a high percentage" of immigrant children.

In ILEA, a certain proportion of a school's budget is flexible in the sense that the head teacher can use the fund as he or she sees fit. At Julian's this "personal fund" of the head teacher is used i.e. for 4½ hours of extra secretarial help per week, to pay half the cost of a part-time music teacher, and for a total of 21 hours a week as extra assistance from a number of part-time paid helpers. In addition to this "extra" paid help, the school is provided with one full-time helper over the normal budget, and it makes very extensive use of parent volunteers - usually mothers.

A Enrolment and Staffing

The school has at the moment 230-235 pupils, divided on 8 classroom groups, giving an average class size of 29 pupils - a figure which compares favourably with most primary schools in England and Wales. The three classes in the infant department are "vertically grouped": each class contains a mixture of children from age 5 to 7. Policy for the junior classes is to group according to age. But since the older age groups are larger than the desired class size and since there are only 8 classrooms available, the staff has opted for a modified age grouping which means that some children are displaced from their chronological age group. The school has tested the attainment of children thus displaced, to ensure that those "left behind" with a mainly younger class do not suffer educationally There are 5 junior classes.

i. The Teachers

There are 9 full-time teachers at Julian's; plus the head of school who is without timetabled teaching responsibility. Eight of the teachers are class teachers, each responsible for a classroom group. The supernumerary teacher has special responsibilities. She provides support for one of the infant classes each morning, giving tuition to about 10 of the older children in the class. In the afternoon she provides back-up to the junior teachers, taking small groups of children with special difficulties. In the last term of the year, she takes a class of "rising five" children - children who are nearing the official school age and who are admitted on a part-time basis. In addition, the supernumerary teacher has special responsibility for "media resources" at the school: tape recordings, visual aids, remedial aids, and the library.

The school has three part-time teachers. Two of them, each coming in for two half-days a week, provide support to two junior classes, teaching groups who either have special difficulties or who are "running faster" than older children. A third part-time teacher comes in 6 half-days a week to teach music to the older children in the junior section. This is the only teacher at the school who functions as a subject specialist.

ii. Paid Assistants

The school has one full-time "infant helper". The ILEA provision for such "primary helpers" depends on enrolment. A school having 129 children would, for example, be given 25 hours per week of assistance of this type. A very large primary school of 478 children or more would be given 42½ hours per week. There is no formal entry qualification for the job nor is there any regular provision for on-the-job training, though "it is hoped to arrange courses in the near future for this grade". Throughout Inner London schools there were about 840 full-time equivalent "primary helpers" or "women helpers" in 1974-75.

The "infant helper" at Julian's Primary School has 24 years of work experience from schools. She started out at her first school with the part-time job of escorting children to the tram and was later asked if she would be a full-time helper. Eighteen years ago she took a First Aid course and has over the years maintained a strong interest in nursing and First Aid as a volunteer member of St John's Ambulance Brigade, attending meetings of that organisation most weeks.

She has also attended a brief "course for infant helpers, on children's games in the playground etc." Apart from these courses, she has no formal training for her job. She has worked with Mr Osborn, the head teacher at Julian's, for 17-18 years. He asked her to join his staff at his new school in 1968, when Julian's Primary School opened.

The school has three part-time paid "helpers", financed out of the head teacher's "personal fund". One of them is a "trained nursery aide" who has worked for 43 years in a nursery and who went back to work after rearing her own children. She helps out a total of 5½ hours a week during the afternoons in the junior classes. Also, every morning during the week she provides 2½ hours support to two of the three infant classes (the two which are not being helped by the supernumerary teacher). These same two classes also receive help every Wednesday morning from a young nursery trainee who attends a course at a nearby college of further education. Another "helper" doubles as an assistant for 5½ hours each week in a junior class, and a dining room supervisor each day. She is trained as a hospital nurse and started at the school as a "dinner helper" in 1968.

iii. Dinner Helpers

Inner London primary schools are given one "meals supervisor" for every 30 and part-30 children in the infant school; and one to every 75 or part-75 children in the junior school. Julian's Primary School has 6 meals supervisors which characteristically are referred to as "dinner helpers" at the school. Though they involve themselves in the working of the school to some extent (one of them "doubles" as a helper in a junior class), they do not seem to stand out as "volunteers" so much as the "dinner ladies do at Tameside School. The dinner helpers are often parents of past pupils.

iv. Specialist Support Staff

In ILEA there are teams of school social workers, psychologists, nurses who provide specialist back-up for schools, usually based in "child guidance centres" each of which serving an area of schools.

Other special services units also exist, but Julian's Primary School would normally contact the local child guidance centre when a child needs "outside help". The procedures here seem similar to those outlined for Oak Hill School and Tameside School. At Julian's they are given special help from a senior reading adviser at the ILEA Education Office, who comes in every Wednesday to work with a group of children who have been referred through the "usual procedures". This adviser will also help on the spot with other problems.

Every year there is a school medical examination. The school nurse comes in more often to do routine testing such as eye testing and "head inspection if there is any problem with lice", or whenever she is called upon. There is also the annual check-up at a dental clinic.

v. Other Support Staff

Schools of Julian's size are in ILEA only given part-time secretarial assistance. Although the head has added 6½ hours a week from his "personal fund" to the fixed provision, the secretarial assistance is normally only from 9 a.m. to 2.30 p.m. each day (29 hours per week). The secretarial need is somewhat eased by the fact that kitchen staff in Inner London schools form an independent service which is not under the head teacher's direction. The school has a school keeper and washing staff who are responsible to the head of school.

vi. The Emphasis on "Personal" Selection of Staff

Because Julian's was a new school in 1968, the Board of Managers of the school in consultation with the head had the rare opportunity to select staff of whom the head had previous knowledge. He was previously head of another school nearby, and he took a core of staff with him from that school (as well as his infant helper). Others were recruited though voluntary work he did in helping to build up a teachers centre prototype at a local college of education. This enabled him to open the school with a team of teachers committed to his educational style. And when this "founding team" had established the school's distinctive profile, new recruits have been selected to accord with that established style. The involvement of Mr Orsborn and his staff in in-service teacher education at the teachers centre has helped him recruit replacements for members of the original team who have left, often to take up higher posts in other schools. Some previous full-time members of staff still contribute to the school. The two professional teachers who give part-time group tuition in the junior school are examples of this. One of them is a member of "our original team", the other came in later and left to have a baby.

The helpers have been similarly hand-picked. There is the infant helper who has worked with Mr Orsborn for 18 years! The two junior helpers both started out as dinner helpers and because they "were good with children", were asked to take on wider responsibilities. One of them was the head teacher's neighbour before she was asked if she wanted to be a dinner helper at his new school. The head of school strongly stresses the importance of "as far as possible picking people you know as helpers, and this applies not only to helpers who work with teachers but to any adult who deals with children at a school, including the dining room supervisor". In the past, however, his choice of part-time assistants such as dinner helpers has been restricted by a shortage of labour.

vii. Student Teachers

Each year the school receives a number of students from the nearby college of education for their teaching practice. The school usually has one student for one term in each class, during the autumn and winter terms. Although the students are "an extra hand" in the classroom, the head teacher feels that it is more extra work than it is relief for the teachers to "break in" and guide students who only spend one term at the school and on a part-time basis. "Having students is a great deal of extra work for the teachers. It is hard for new students even though they have had practice elsewhere." This view probably also reflects the fact that students are assigned to the school, they have not been selected as "right persons" nor is there time for a personal relationship to be built up between them and the teacher they work with. The focus of the students' concern is naturally not the school but their college. For parents coming in to help, on the other hand, the focus is on the school of their own child.

viii. Parents

Right from the opening of the school, the message the school gave to parents was: "If you want to help the school, just go into the classroom and you can help." The parental inolvement is impressively great. Such involvement is usually greater in the infant school but it is still very extensive in the junior classes: "Every one of the 5 junior classes can count on regular assistance from parents: at least 3 parents per class, depending on the personality of the teacher. Some can go up to 6 or 7." Relationships with parents have been deliberately cultivated over a long period with the result that some mothers come in to help regularly even after their own child has left the school. Social networks among parents have become structured around school involvement. One mother who said she "would feel lost if she didn't have the school to come in to" described how most of her friends and people she knew socially stem from the school and a playground feeding into the school.

B. The Working of the School

The visits to Julian's Primary School gave the consistent impression that the school was working according to a carefully discussed "curriculum". But at the same time, there is no set curriculum in the sense of "so many hours per day devoted to each subject". The stress lies on objectives and on the personal monitoring of each child's realisation of objectives. The dominant value is very explicit and echoed in many interviews: "We try to organise the school so that every child is working up to his full capacity at any particular time". More specifically the stress is on objectives in specific skill areas but specific learning activities or situations are designed - ideally at least - with several objectives in mind: "Originally, one would have a timetable for maths so many hours a day. Now a child may do it for 20 minutes or 2 hours. The principle is that several skills are learned at the same time, though the projects, for example mathematics and language skills."

The commitment to individualised learning, to activity methods, and - at least in mathematics - to learning by discovery means that individual children or groups of children often will be working at different levels and with different activities at the same time in a classroom - though such diversity is presumably not seen as an end in itself. The presence of helpers is part of this learning strategy in that it makes possible task diversity within the class. The head teacher emphasises that a commitment to this pedagogic style needs to be matched by a careful monitoring of the children's learning of basic skills.

i. The Learning of Language Skills

The "Language Policy" provides one illustration of the school's approach to skills which naturally are seen as crucial. The head teacher - in consultation with his staff - has prepared a written "Language Policy" statement that gives rationales for and sets out the objectives and methods of the school in language development. The statement stresses "language across the curriculum". The main scheme in the infant school for teaching reading is an approach called "Breakthrough to Literacy" which uses the child's own words - rather than a reader - as the basis for learning the first elements of reading. In addition, word games, matching cards, pictures etc. are used in the infant and early junior stage. A "jumbo typewriter" is used as one aid to writing.

After the initial break-through, the children move on to a banded reading scheme. As at Tameside School the staff has compiled a variety of reading material and banded it into 6 stages of difficulty (using colour labelling). Children choose material freely within each band, and their teacher decides when a child is ready to move on to the next band. This system takes children up to a reading age of about 8, after which they use the school library. This scheme allows "children to observe their own progress without getting into competition with each other". Also, while the scheme gives each child a choice in what to read, it enables the teacher to keep track of children's progress without being tied to a definite sequence of books. A close record is kept of each child's progress in reading. Children record themselves the books they have read. The teacher keeps a record of each child's reading with notes on how difficult the material seemed for the child. This information is summarised at the end of each year and passed on when the child moves on to a new teacher.

Since children - especially after their initial breakthrough - will be reading different books and at different levels, one of the important tasks of "helpers" in a classroom is to "hear children read" while the teacher concentrates on children needing special attention.

ii. The Stress on a Personal Approach

The pedagogic style of the school emphasises personal relationships, a particularistic approach to persons rather than relationships and tasks being structured by explicit rules. Concessions to "formal" procedures are seemingly made only reluctantly. The head teacher stresses the importance of teachers personally evaluating each child, e.g. to assess the level at which a child is reading; he administers formal tests only reluctantly - though formal tests required by outside authorities and administered to children at the end of the junior school show that children leaving Julian's are well above the average for London both in mathematics and language skills.

Teachers at Julian's do use a variety of learning aids, such as word bingo, mathematical games etc., but seem sceptical of materials-methods "systems" or educational "packages". Rather than choosing "packages" "we would select this, and that, and that", teachers personally selecting aids and materials to back up their approach - as they do in the "Banded Reading Scheme". The head teacher felt educational packages to be de-personalising in their educational implications: "Packages bother me, because packages usually have no reference to children as people. One of the most important things a school can do is to reassert that these are people." Rejecting "mechanical" analogues for the teaching-learning process, the head teacher preferred instead the "organic" parallel (mutuality, gradual growth) and also liked to think of the "jazz orchestra" analogue to what a school ought to be: presumably individuality, creative improvisations around a common theme.

iii. An Open Door to Parents

Apart from the help to the school that some parents give, the more general objective for parental involvement at Julian's is "to set up a two-way communication between parent and teacher concerning the child". The school attempts to create conditions which maximise such communication. Parents are told they can come in any time to talk to the head of school or directly to their child's teacher. The frequency of such contacts is very great. "We would expect at the lowest level, a meaningful discussion contact with every parent once a term. There are many that we would see 2-3 times a term, and others we see every week. Others - if we allowed them to - would come in every day."

Unlike most other schools, Julian's does not have "open days" because staff believe that parental visits should not be "special" but an integral feature of the school's daily life. There is also the feeling that "open days" or other occasions when outsiders come in to observe the school are artificial situations with a de-personalising tinge: "Having someone there to observe someone teach is not on. The teacher will ask such persons to join in, in the classroom. You don't want that fish-bowl atmosphere."

Parents are invited to accompany their children into the classroom every morning. This is eased by the physical lay-out of the school: each classroom has an entrance door opening directly to the outside. New teachers may find a classroom full of parents helping children get their things out a bit unnerving at first, "but now I think it is lovely". Not only that, but also: "Once I was late on a Monday morning. When I came into the classrooms, the mums and dads were already helping children get their words and make their sentences while they were waiting for me, because the children knew what they were to do on that morning".

The school does have a Parent-Teacher Organisation, but the Head teacher is careful to stress that their organisation is "special" in that it "is rooted in the day time life of the school" unlike so many other PTAs. Because their

PTA grew out of the daytime involvement of parents coming in to the school, parents active in the PTA are "discussing against real knowledge of what happens in the classroom". The PTA organises educational talks, discussions, and social evenings; and like PTAs elsewhere in Britain it has been active in raising money for certain purposes. The "jumbo typewriter" is one example.

iv. But Not Team-Teaching

Like their colleagues at Oak Hill and Tameside schools, teachers at Julian's do not work jointly on a regular basis - although some teachers cooperate more than others, especially in preparation for excursions or special events: "We don't team teach but improvise when we want to do the same thing in any case." Team-teaching has been considered by the staff and rejected - and not only because of the phsycial structure of separate classrooms: "If we had really wanted to, we would have found a way."

It is probably felt that team-teaching would be difficult to reconcile with the stress on the teacher knowing each child and its parents well: "Sixty children in a group would be a lot of children to be responsible for and to really know where each of those children is going". Perhaps another reason is a conflict with the belief that teachers should be allowed to express their individuality in their work: "It is a very difficult thing I think, unless you are all going the same way, and have the same ideas and thoughts about children and methods." Rather, the model adopted is one where one teacher is in charge of each class with a defined responsibility for the progress of the children and cultivating relationships with parents or a relatively small group of children. But the teacher does not work alone. She is regularly assisted by paid or unpaid helpers. In that way the teachers feel that some of the hoped-for benefits of team-teaching are obtained in a class-teacher system: the children have contact with several adults and enough adults are present to supervise and sustain a variety of activities in the classroom, and to give the children individual attention.

C. The Work of the Helpers

According to a document on "Ancillary Assistance in Primary and Secondary Schools" issued in 1975 by the Inner London Education Office, the duties of "Primary Helpers" are "assigned by the head teacher and include: general assistance, the preparation and care of simple apparatus and materials, repair of toys and library books, attending to minor accidents and taking home sick and injured children". And: "Their duties specifically exclude semi-professional classroom assistance to teachers." Given the policy at Julian's Primary School, this statement would seem to be more a description of what helpers normally do than it is a statement of what they may do. In reality the work of paid helpers is very much determined by the policy set by the head teacher of a school. Teachers at Julian's seem conscious of their school being special in the extent of responsibility given to helpers. Several gave examples of other schools where helpers performed a much more limited role: "The head didn't like untrained people in the school, was not very fond of student-teachers, didn't like parents. There were 2-3 people called junior helpers. I only saw them when they made coffee. At yet another school the helper was shut in the stockroom all the time. The only time I saw her was when the helper would appear with stock." "I was at one school for seven years. I could not make use of parents at all. I was not allowed to. It was the head mistress's policy."

The full-time infant helper at Julian's Primary School is a very experienced person (cf. A ii, above), but until a few years ago her work was normally limited to work outside the classroom though she played an active part in preparation for special school events and in helping teachers on school journeys. On a daily basis her work was focused on serving tea and coffee and washing up, First Aid, checking stock, playground duty and supervising in the lunch room - duties very similar to the activities of welfare assistants in

the main school at Oak Hill Middle School. Because of the school policy of maximising direct back-up to the class teachers, her duties were recently widened to include timetabled help in each of the three infant classes at the same time as her First Aid responsibilities in part were delegated to the teachers. Rather than dealing herself with all minor "cuts and bruises", the infant helper was to supply and maintain a minimum First Aid kit in each classroom. Only more serious injuries would be referred to her. After more than 20 years of working outside classrooms she would herself personally have preferred to continue her previous duties and felt some uncertainty about what her new role entailed. Therefore, the head teacher compiled a detailed job description for her, after consulting with her and the teachers. The job description specifies her First Aid role, daily fixed duties, weekly fixed duties, periodic duties, and a rota system whereby she would each week give assistance to the three infant class teachers.

Her daily fixed duties begin at 9 o'clock. She and the school secretary sell lunch tickets to children until 9.15, thereby relieving the teachers of this housekeeping chore. Sometimes she will serve coffee first thing in the morning as well - or the teachers help themselves, but she will wash up the cups. From 10.15 to 10.40 she prepares coffee for the staff during their morning break and has a morning break herself. From 10.40 to 11.00 she helps supervise children in the playground. From 11.00 to 11.20 she washes up and tidies up in the staffroom. From 12 noon to 1.300 she has her own lunch break. From 14.45 to 15.00 there is playground duty again. The afternoon tea is normally served by two of the part-time helpers. On days when they are not in, that would also be her fixed responsibility. From 15 to 15.15 she has a break. Finally, from 15.30 to 16.00 she looks after infant class children who are waiting to be picked up by their parents. In between these daily fixed duties, she carries out her fixed weekly duties and her periodic duties.

Her one fixed weekly duty is "general duties to the whole infant school, e.g. mix paints, clean paint pots, sharpen pencils, check First Aid kits, etc. These general duties will normally be carried out on Monday". On Tuesdays, Wednesdays, and Thursdays she assists - in between her daily fixed duties and her rest periods, the three infant teachers, helping one teacher each day. Friday is her "flexible" day in that she then may attend to some of the "periodic duties" or she may give further help to the infant teachers if there is time. Her periodic duties are listed as "check and filing of stock at peak delivery periods, assistance for school journey, First Aid ordering, organisation of jumble sales and the Summer Fair, and additional unspecified tasks at the instance of Head or by consultation with him". Work in the stockroom is a "periodic" activity that frequently occurs on Fridays. Other activities may be used as fillers, such as repair of books and games. She stresses herself that her schedule is flexible in that it can be changed if the head teacher finds she needed for some special purpose.

The work she does in the infant classes varies a bit from teacher to teacher. It would seem that her primary task tends to be "odd jobs" with materials rather than children: mixing up paint, sharpening pencils, cutting paper. She may also be asked to "make things up" outside the classroom if she prefers to (e.g. workbooks, 'dictionaries'). In addition, she "can come into the class like any other helper" and supervise children playing educational games. One teacher said: "I have got quite a lot of these different games which any adult can supervise. If you leave a group of children alone to play games, they very often end up making their own rules or quarrelling. You need an adult to sit there and see that children follow the rules." Or the helper may "hear the children read", usually simply listening to at most 8 or 9 children in a group. In one of the infant classes she also helps out with physical education.

The three part-time paid helpers seemingly devote a smaller proportion of their time to "odd jobs" with materials, and are more fully used to supervise

children inside or outside the classroom. Two of them alternate in preparing tea for staff during the afternoon break and in washing up afterwards, but otherwise their time is focused on assistance in the classroom. One of them also doubles as a "dinner helper".

The paid helpers do not seem to function very differently from the mother-volunteers in the classroom, though the groups are obviously different in what the school can rightly "expect" from them. But although parents are under no obligation to the school, the teachers feel they can very much count on parents appearing as they have voluntarily agreed. Teachers seem to think of both groups as "helpers". In terms of tasks performed, the distinction between paid and unpaid helpers seems less important than the distinction between helpers who give specialised help because they have different talents and interests. This is especially true for the junior classes where children are given more scope to develop special practical skills (cooking, sewing, etc.). Among volunteers and paid helpers alike, some individuals are more capable and therefore given more independent responsibilities.

The question of where to draw the professional threshold naturally arises. The first distinction between teacher and helpers is that the helpers work under the teacher's direction. The teacher decides, and helpers are expected to adapt to a teacher's style of working. Another distinction would be that unlike the teacher, helpers only work with individual children or small groups: "We would never consider giving a helper 12 children, but 4 to 6 is more the number." Most teachers interviewed felt that although the distinction between teacher and helper might seem blurred at times, the demarcation line was still very clear in their mind. The head teacher gave these illustrations of the distinction:

> "An infant helper can listen to a child read, and I don't care, because that child is reading. A non-professional can help a child along, but if it came to a question of breaking a word down, then I would say, that's a teacher's job. The teacher also has to record reading to diagnose the child. But the helper enables the child to get extra reading experience." "An example from cooking would be: The actual cooking can be done with one of the helpers. While the children are actually doing the cooking, the helper might be the only adult there. But the proportions is another aspect of cooking, and that would be the subject for the teacher to handle." "Another instance would be when children have a particular mathematical game. There is a great deal of conversation among children. They need supervision so that a group of six children does not crack apart for want of having somebody there to help them. The helper will also be answering children. We are such believers in language that they can talk as much as they want to children, you know. They will be getting pencils and materials, tasks ranging from housekeeping tasks to those which bounce against the professional threshold. And you judge a person in the classroom as to how far you will let them go up to that professional threshold. Once a pattern has been set, the helper herself knows the way she is working. It is always a training process, within the mode of a particular teacher, and to support the teacher's own approaches."

There will obviously be some overlap in activity between teacher and helper because even a teacher with an assistant present will herself be doing some preparation of materials or supervision of previously structured activities. But the rationale for helpers is that teachers will be able to concentrate more on core teaching functions: planning, organising, introducing new work, in short: structuring learning situations, and on teaching more abstract concepts. A second important rationale would seem to be that the presence of helpers enables the teacher to sustain a wider range of activities in order to meet the different needs of the children and to concentrate on children needing special attention.

This seemed to be the way helpers functioned at Julian's in sessions focused on teaching basic language and mathematics skills. In sessions focused on practical or aesthetic skills however, the distinction between helper and teacher becomes more blurred. The teacher is certainly in charge, and the helper only works with a small group. But with that group she often is allowed to make an autonomous contribution which is not necessarily "raw material" for the teacher's teaching of concepts later on. This example is from a junior class:

> "She comes to my class with a big smile and says what would you like me to do today? She does whatever I would like her to do. .... In the beginning she used to mix paint. Now the children do that themselves. She hears children read. She often takes a sewing group. She is very good at sewing, and the children like sewing. She has a great relationship with the children. As soon as they see Mrs Hastie, they say: 'Can we sew?'"

An infant teacher makes use of her helper in the following way:

> "Mondays we use a television programme about words and pictures. That programme has a lot of follow-up, reading sounds of letters. There are certain kinds of follow-up which I give to my helper, like worksheets where you cut out pictures, you colour the pictures, you match sentences with pictures. She is quite capable of doing this with the children."

But on other occasions the teacher gives the same helper a more independent role:

> "She is good at music. She loves music. On Thursdays and Fridays I send her little groups. They try out all the various musical instruments and they have a marvellous time with her.... To begin with I used to explain to her what she was to do, but now she knows. Now she could get on even if I were not there."

Mothers seem to perform a similar mix of supportive supervisory routines and more autonomous contributions in practical and aesthetic areas:

> "Last term I had a rota system. Every Tuesday afternoon one mum came in to do cooking with a group. Another mum said, Wednesday morning I can come in and help you for an hour. Some of them like to do cooking. Others I might send into the workshop to do painting and model-making. The children need to be given glue and paint, you know, cutting out, talking to the children about their models and paints. Then games, number games and reading games. All these things I give parents to do."

Some mothers have been associated with the school for many years and have contributed to a range of activities. One of them was actively involved in evening "club" activities which the school organised. Now she comes in to help in two of the junior classes, taking 2-3 children and teaching them to cut out a paper garment pattern (as a step towards sewing). She works more or less on her own, often in a separate room but "the teachers keep an eye on me to see if I am all right."

Another mother has been associated with the school since it opened. She has followed two sons right through the school and now has a daughter in a junior class. One of the first things she did for the school was to guide children in the making of life-size paper-maché animals. Over the last years she has helped out with a variety of activities, including last year in an infant class: "doing a lot of mathematical work, working out with water, capactities, etc." During recent years one of her regular annual contributions has been to produce together with groups of children a big picture for the wall in one of the main halls. This she does four time a year. Now she comes in one whole day each week. In the morning she may listen to a group of children reading or look after children playing educational games, or anything else the teacher

asks her to do. In the afternoon she works with another class, usually helping with art work. This mother is an example of an exceptionally durable and intense involvement in the school, but the total assistance provided from volunteers is impressively great (cf. A viii). In addition to the help given regularly, parents come in in greater numbers and help prepare for special occasions such as Christmas. "For an outing I might get a number of parents to come along, say 6 of them if needed."

D General Comments

Helpers work under the teacher's direction, and only with small groups. Because they often have special skills in practical or aesthetic areas, sometimes greater skills than the teacher, they are sometimes allowed a more autonomous contribution in sessions focused on such skills, than in teaching "basic skills". Indeed, when asked about the division of labour between teacher and helper, one teacher drew the distinction by type of skill: "It is the basic skills that a teacher must teach. The helpers are not really aware of how to approach reading or number... but parents may hear reading (of children who have made the initial break-through)." It is in activities which are expressive rather than instrumental, or in the teaching of concrete skills rather than abstract concepts that talented helpers are allowed to work more independently with small groups of children. Though such activities obviously sometimes are systematically used by the teacher as raw material for the teaching of concepts (e.g. "proportions" in the case of cooking), this is not always the case. Interestingly enough, in schools which do not encourage helpers in the classroom (e.g. Oak Hill schools), exceptions are sometimes made for practical and aesthetic activities. Perhaps a reason is that such activities compared to others can more easily be taught by example, they can be learned by watching the skill being performed.

At this school - as in the case of the other two schools visited, teachers find it difficult to state what a helper should do, in the abstract. In practice it depends not only on principles but also on the teacher's relationship with a helper and on the helper's talents. Sometimes this means that a teacher may let a helper implement ideas of her own, even though the teacher might have second thoughts about their pedagogical merit: "Sometimes parents come in with an idea about something that they want to do... If we were sitting away from the situation, we might not support it; but it is different when you have a good relationship with someone. We let them to it, don't we. She gets satisfaction doing her thing, and the children get satisfaction doing something they have never done before, that is the main thing."

The head teacher at Julian's was given a rare opportunity to establish the style of a new school. He seems to have played the role of a charismatic institution founder in that situation, in reaching out to involve parents. The words of praise from one mother were: "He is very much a man for the community, Mr Orsborn, you feel so very much drawn in by him, into the school... He gives up a lot of extra time for this." The stress on personal relationships, of responding to persons on particularistic terms rather than according to fixed rules is an aspect of charismatic leadership. One might speculate that tolerance of ambiguity - the will to take risks in relations with persons, is another aspect of a charismatic style. Encouraging the use of helpers in the classroom indicates tolerance of ambiguity, even though the head teacher takes pains to stress that helpers at most "bounce up against that professional threshold". The role that parents are allowed to play vis-à-vis their own children similarly indicates such tolerance.

It is most unusual that parents are invited to help out in classrooms on a regular basis. It is even more unusual that they are allowed to do so in their own child's group. At Julian's Primary School, however, this is allowed and normal. The head teacher said he understood that others might have

misgivings about having child and mother in the same classroom, but "I want no fixed rule about it. Rather, one should deal with each case in personal terms. If you say that a parent can go to any class but that of her own child, you are setting up something that can create suspicion. Rather: see the child having a tantrum at school, know what goes on in the classroom." Occasionally it is necessary to "wean parents from breathing down the neck of their own child in a classroom situation" but both the head of school and teachers say that this happens with very few parents: "With one or two people you can see the need to be quite firm in your attitude." They stress that some parents need time to learn how to behave relative to their own child in the classroom, that they should help other children in the class: "By the time they come to us (in the junior school), parents have learned to help other children and enjoy doing so." Parents also learn in other respects: "It helps when parents have been in the school over a long period of time. They then learn what not to do, such as doing a picture for a child." From a mother's point of view, what seems salient is that the child learns to act in a new and more independent role vis-à-vis the mother: "Children cling to you more in the beginning, but they get used to the fact that you come in to help everyone."

Parents are better helpers when there is some continuity in the teacher-parent relationship. But the advantage of such continuity must be balanced against the need to avoid in-group-out-group feelings between the regular helpers and other parents. A strong motive for helpers is undoubtedly the desire to help their own child. The salience of this motive can also create certain problems for the school, especially towards the end of the junior school when many parents are anxious that their child be admitted to the "right" secondary school. In this situation parents may have the erroneous impression that being a helper not only may help the child to learn, but that the child will be given preferential treatment at selection to secondary school. It is difficult to assess the strength of such feelings, but such undercurrents make it important for the school to "reach out whenever there is the opportunity to other parents than those who come in regularly" in order to counteract any impression that helpers and teachers form a clique.

In this socially mixed catchment area one would expect that the extent of school inolvement among parents would be greater among those from higher socio-economic backgrounds. It is not possible to determine the extent to which this is true, but one teacher avers that "this school has a mixed group of parents coming in, in terms of social background".

Schools do not easily reveal skeletons in the closet when visited for a case study, but the consistent impression at Julian's was that there was little friction between teachers and helpers (though one case was obliquely alluded to). The teachers seemed to feel at ease with their helpers and appreciated the help: "It doesn't worry me at all to have someone in my classroom. I could have six mothers in and a junior helper and I could carry on, because I am me and I like people. And anyone who walks in I tend to give them a job to do, and they laugh." Or: "It helps me out tremendously. If I had no helper, I would have to concentrate on one or two groups. If there is a helper, then there is a third group going." One teacher stressed that teachers also need to learn to work with helpers: "When I first came to the school I was not used to having helpers. It took a lot of adjustment on my part. I didn't know how I was going to cope with parents, after being in a classroom where you shut the door and you are there with the children and that's it. But I liked the idea, liked it in the back of my mind."

While parental involvement seemed greatly valued by staff, some teachers said they could not help but feel uneasy about the amount of work contributed by parents who are not paid, especially when the tasks are so similar to those performed by paid helpers in the classroom. Indeed, "many of the parents we

have built up relationships with, would have made very good teachers if they had had the opportunity to go to training colleges, by virtue of their experience." The school therefore is careful to show its appreciation by giving flowers or presents, or sending thank you notes from the children. The policy seems also to be that "parents are not asked to do drudge work. Rather we try to find jobs which they themselves find satisfying".

The teachers interviewed stressed that training is no guarantee of a person being a good helper or - for that matter - a good teacher. "If helpers were trained, then one would be able to give them more responsibility... But training is no guarantee nor always necessary. For example, first year students from the college of education, who have had a year of experience, are sometimes pathetic with children, especially in comparison with mothers who have experience." Another teacher said: "I don't think helpers need a lot of training. Basically, I think they must like children. That is the most important thing, that they get on with children. Especially younger children are quick to sense if an adult working with them is really fond of them or not." Thus, the teachers stressed the importance of personal qualities. They also emphasised the importance of teacher and helper being personally compatible and some mentioned examples from other schools where tension have arisen out of personal imcompatibility or out of status inconsistency between seniority and qualifications: "In my previous school there was a nursery class with a trained teacher and nursery assistants. Very often that is an area which is fraught with problems... The new girl comes in and wants to do her own thing and clashes with the person who has been there for twenty years."

The teachers at Julian's Primary School appreciate very much working with helpers, both paid helpers and volunteers, but they seem to agree with colleagues at Oak Hill School and Tameside School, that they couldn't "just work with anyone". They seemed to agree that a helper must adapt to the teacher's approach, that there must be continuity in the teacher-helper relationship, and that the two must be personally compatible. One of the teachers who warmly praised her helpers and who had especially many, said she would resign from teaching rather than working under a scheme whereby assistants would be trained but she would have no choice of which assistants to work with - "if a trained assistant would be sent to the teacher, and with whom we would have no history or a gradual build-up of a personal relationship". This stress on a personal relationship seems to be in keeping with the general pedagogic style at Julian's.

CHAPTER IV

SOME INTERPRETATIONS AND HYPOTHESES

The pilot projects in different countries as well as the case studies of schools showed a fairly wide range in the amount of responsibility given to non-specialist assistants. The material suggests that assistants' tasks tend to form a cumulative scale, in the sense that persons performing "higher" responsibilities also perform "lower" ones. From the "bottom" upwards, the scale would have the following steps: 1) working with materials or equipment, 2) supervising or assisting pupils outside of structured learning situations, 3) in structured learning situations, supervising children doing practical or aesthetic work, 4) supervising children in other structured learning situations, 5) working "more independently" with small groups of pupils doing practical or aesthetic work, and 6) working more independently with small groups of pupils in other subjects.

General school duties of the "housekeeping" or "clerical/mechanical" type (cf. ch. I. 2. A and B) are the duties first conceded to assistants. Teachers usually welcome eagerly assistants for this type of work who would relieve teachers of "drudge work". The amount of such work that needs doing depends not only on the size of school but also on the complexity of learning materials and teaching aids. There has over recent decades been a trend towards increased complexity of materials, and teachers have generally experienced a growing need for materials and equipment back-up. The amount of such work for a "non-specialist" assistant would presumably depend on the extent of other support-staff at the school, especially school secretarial provision, or "specialist" technicians. Because help with "mechanical/clerical" chores tends to be given first priority by teachers, assistants will be given "higher responsibilities" only in so far as the "lower" ones have been discharged.

There are housekeeping chores which on the face of it would seem suitable for assistants, but which have implications for a teacher's liaison with parents, and which for that reason are "kept" by the teacher of young pupils. For example, in Julian's Primary School - a school where assistants were given very great responsibility - teachers would take attendance.

It would seem that the scope for what Duthie called "supervision" duties would depend on the teaching style. In conventional class teaching where pupils are working at roughly the same pace and with the same learning material and where the teacher spends most of her time in class communicating with the entire group of pupils, the scope for assistants working alongside the teacher would seem very limited. Research also indicates that assistants are less productively used under such conditions than when "activity methods" are used. Conversely, assistants seem not only to "fit in" when activity methods are used, they also help to make such methods possible. "Activity methods" are most prevalent at the bottom of the educational ladder, and it is hardly accidental that teachers' assistants are used mostly in nursery and primary schools and less in secondary schools. The Scottish background research indicated more scope in the lower stages of primary schools than in the higher ones, for assistants "supervising" pupils working on tasks which had been prestructured by the teacher. In so far as such activity methods as groups work and "projects" are increasingly adopted also in secondary schools, one would expect that the scope for "supervision" assistance would increase.

In programmed learning situations, as in the case of IMU, pupils will work more independently of the teacher as their work is more prestructured by the material. The work of assistants is probably affected similarly. Because their task is more prestructured by the material, assistants will tend to work more independently of direct supervision by the teacher (tasks like supplying pupils with materials, recording progress etc.). If objective tests are used and the scoring involves checking the pupils's answers against a "key" of correct answers worked out by the teacher or supplied as part of the teaching material, assistants may even play a part in assessing the pupils' performance. In general, materials-methods systems - like activity methods - would seem to increase the scope for assistants' work, especially when such materials increase the amount of routine tasks that need doing.

It appears that teachers more readily concede a role for assistants in the teaching of aesthetic and practical skills than in other subjects. One reason may be that the learning of such skills can more easily occur by pupils observing the actual performance of techniques; and assistants may sometimes have talents in these areas which equal or even surpass those of a class teacher. It may also be that practical and aesthetic work often require more complex materials support than do other forms of school work.

When assistants are introduced, the weight given to different responsibilities will not only depend on the total amount of support work that needs doing but also on the extent to which the work is done by occupants of other support roles. The tasks that teachers most readily concede to assistants are routine chores of a clerical/mechanical type. If schools are short of secretarial help, an assistant will often find herself drawn into the role of mainly performing office work. In some Norwegian and Swedish schools this appears to have occurred. This would be unproblematic if the main intended tasks of the assistant were typing, copying, keeping records, etc. But if the assistant has been trained for more clearly pedagogic support work, such "under-utilisation" of her skills could easily lead to dissatisfaction.

Even when teachers desire assistance in the classroom, the extent to which this would be possible depends on the extent of assistance available for a school. One full-time assistant would not be able to render much help in classrooms on a timetabled basis if ten teachers want such help, especially when teachers give the highest priority to help with general school duties. It takes time for an assistant to "learn the ropes" of each classroom, and continuity in teacher-assistant cooperation is therefore important if an assistant is to be very productive in pedagogic supervision. Because of this, assistants rendering direct help in classrooms should work with few teachers.

Because an assistant in a classroom will work under the teacher's direction, it would seem desirable that only when teachers want assistance should assistance be given in a classroom situation. In the case studies of English schools, great stress is placed on the importance of personal compatibility between teacher and assistant. The importance of avoiding personality clashes calls for sensitivity to personalities when assistants are matched with teachers. An "organic" approach that allows for gradual growth in cooperative relations seems preferable to assigning assistants to classrooms according to impersonal rules.

In the English case studies, teachers and assistants alike stress the need for assistants to adapt to the classroom style set by the teacher. An assistant timetabled to work with several teachers is often required to adapt to different teaching styles in order to "work in" productively. The teacher, on her part, is required to plan her work in order to make productive use of assistance; but because of the asymmetry in teacher-assistant authority relations, this would seem to be a more general form of learning - unlike the assistant's need to adapt to another person's personal style of working. The importance of assistants' adapting to a teacher's personal style is likely to be more important when activity methods are used than when the assistant helps out during programmed learning.

The stress that teachers place on personal qualities in assistants, on "getting the person who is right for us" strongly suggests that on-the-job training ought to go hand in hand with any formal preparation of assistants in a taught course. Informal assessment of experience and personal qualities should count heavily in selecting candidates for training courses and in recruiting assistants to schools. So far, experience indicates that there is no shortage of eager applicants to the courses which have been established. Nor is there any apparent difficulty in finding suitably qualified and experienced applicants to assistant posts in schools. The problem of ensuring that suitable persons are selected might be more difficult if it were decided to provide assistants to work in classrooms, on a large scale.

Problems of personal compatibility are of course not unique to teacher-assistant relationships in schools (or other institutions). But such problems become more important when persons are placed in a situation where they are expected to work closely together. In this respect teacher-assistant relations resemble team teaching. Compared to team teaching, the potential for interpersonal tension is probably smaller in teacher-assistant relations because the teacher is clearly in charge and less time is needed to make decisions. One would expect that personal differences generate tension more easily in symmetrical relations between equals than in asymmetrical relations when persons are placed in close, cooperative situations.

The smooth functioning of asymmetrical status relations between teacher and assistant requires a mutual acceptance of the asymmetry in status. Problems can arise when this acceptance is eroded because of status inconsistency. A certain amount of tension seems "built into" certain teacher-assistant combinations. In one case study the example (from other schools) was mentioned of "the new teacher, fresh from college, coming in to change things, and clashing with the assistant who has been there for twenty years". The great stress that teachers themselves place on experience and personal qualities as "real" occupational qualifications enhances the potential for status inconsistency between status based on formal qualifications and claims to status based on experience. The likelihood of conflict arising out of status inconsistency will increase after assistants in classrooms have been working in schools for many years - not only for a short time in a "pilot project", and especially if they have been given a formal training that prepares them for semi-professional pedagogic functions.

There are probably some real dilemmas here. If assistants are to not only relieve teachers of "drudge work" but also to assume responsibilities

close to the "professional threshold", there is a case for training assistants for "supervisory" functions in structured learning situations. Yet, the better trained assistants are, the more likely they are to claim a role as "the teacher's partner". Indeed, there will be individual cases when an experienced assistant will be as competent - at least in certain areas of teaching, as a teacher fresh from college. If assistants are to work alongside teachers, much thought should be given to reducing structural sources of tension. Care should be taken to avoid such sources of tension when assistants are assigned to teachers. Possibly, the career structure for assistants could be organised to give especially experienced and competent assistants the opportunity to upgrade their qualifications and become teachers themselves - rather than deliberately ensuring that the job of assistant should not become a "transit occupation" to teaching.

The likelihood of teacher-assistant conflict will probably also depend on the extent to which the assistant, like the teacher, will view the teacher's class as her "home base". When an assistant circulates among teachers, she also circulates among the home bases of other staff. This is the normal arrangement in schools making use of assistants in classrooms. It is then the assistant who "comes in" to help the teacher rather than the teacher "coming in" to direct the assistant in the assistant's home base. Formal status and occupancy of home base will then coincide and the scope for tension is reduced: it is natural for the assistant to adapt to the style of work established in the group of pupils that she visits. However, if the assistant spends as much time with the pupils as the teacher does - or if there are several assistants working continuously with groups under a teacher's direction (the situation in many British nurseries), the classroom group will equally be the assistant's home base and an experienced assistant will more easily develop confident judgments about the pupils' work. The assistant may feel she knows the pupils as well as the teacher does. She may even feel that for reasons of lesser social distance, she can more easily than the teacher approach parents about pupils, to "chat up the mums". When - because of the structure of her work - an assistant feels that a group of pupils are her own home base at least as much as it is the teacher's, tensions can easily arise when a new teacher "comes in to take over". It would seem that problems of this kind are smaller when the assistant and the teachers are working within a materials-methods system (such as IMU) because teachers then have less scope to develop their own distinctive style to which assistants are expected to adapt.

Tension may arise because status relations within a school conflict with status relations outside. Generally speaking, men function as the dominant sex in occupational life and women as the subordinate one. To assert the fact of this asymmetry is not to approve of it! It is likely than in the context of a sexist society, women working as men's subordinates generates less conflict than men working as women's subordinates. One notes that in all the schools and pilot projects examined (except possibly in Bavaria), the assistants are always women. Sometimes gender and occupational role is even blended in the designation used: "women helpers" and "dinner ladies". In primary education assistants will normally be working with women teachers and in secondary schools (e.g. IMU) usually with men teachers. Teacher-assistant tension would be more likely if the teacher is a woman and the assistant is a man, especially if the assistant is relatively well trained and the work is structured in such a way that the assistant naturally will think of the group of pupils as his "home base". In reality, assistants and teachers seem to be recruited in such a way

that such situations would be extremely rare.*

If tension arises because assistants aspire to responsibilities which teachers are reluctant to concede, such tension would be more likely if authority relations in a school are perceived as hierarchical relative to the institutional and cultural context. Conversely, because of the importance of external referents, assistants will tend to see themselves as "fortunate" if status relations are "relaxed" in their school, relative to other schools or society in general. In two of the case studies of English primary schools, the work satisfaction of assistants was probably enhanced because they saw their school as "special" in this respect. The evidence indicates that assistants normally aspire to "higher" responsibilities and derive satisfaction from working alongside teachers in structured learning situations - though there are individual cases of assistants feeling uneasy about having their role "stretched" after a great many years of only doing "general school duties". If there is a long-term trend towards more egalitarian status relations within institutions and in society in general, asymmetrical relations between teachers and assistants may be difficult to sustain without growing tension. From this perspective it is relations between older and more authorian teachers and younger assistants steeped in a more egalitarian culture, that may become more fraught with tension! A general egalitarian trend, reflected in claims for "participation" or "codetermination" may also in the long run make it difficult to sustain a work ethic among assistants which stressed that "the assistant is there to make life easier for the teacher". On the other hand, younger and more egalitarian teachers may be less concerned that older colleagues about maintaining their status defenses.

Teachers are most likely to take "risks" and to open their classrooms to helpers when they are secure in their competence and reasonable satisfied with the monetary rewards and social recognition received. Hard-pressed teachers who feel undervalued are likely to keep their defenses up. One would hypothesize that it is the most competent teachers, the ones most at ease with their occupation, who would be most welcoming of parent-volunteers and paid assistants in their classrooms. Assistants sent "from the outside" as classroom relief for hard-pressed teachers are not likely to be welcome. The importance of introducing assistants in a sensitive manner, and with the teachers' agreement, would seem especially important in "difficult" schools.

Tensions arising from status inconsistency are less likely to occur when parent-volunteers work as assistants in schools than when experienced and relatively well-trained assistants work in classrooms. The class is then more obviously only the teacher's home base, and the teacher will be more clearly "superior" in respect of both informal and formal sources of occupational status. The experience of Julian's Primary School indicates that teachers and parents working together can be a powerful educative combination, though it has to be skilfully orchestrated and nurtured over time. As in the case of paid helpers, it is likely that extensive parental involvement in the daily life of a school requires an unusually strong professional commitment and self-confidence among the teachers. In the case of both volunteers and paid helpers, it is a learning experience for teacher and helper alike; and there is reason to believe that teachers having

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* Needless to say, this observation should not in any way be taken to mean that this overlap between societal sex roles and authority relations within schools is "desirable". Considerations of social justice are presumably more important that the objective of avoiding tensions in role relationships!

had this learning experience appreciate helpers more and are as a result of their experience willing to give helpers more responsibility. However, it is important to note that this willingness is based on a gradually growing personal relationship between teacher and helper. Though it is possible to cooperate fruitfully with parents coming in to help, a few parents have to be gently weaned from "breathing down the neck" of their own child. Outside authorities can encourage extensive parental involvement, but the nature of such involvement is such that it cannot be "programmed" from outside the school and "imposed" on teachers.

European teachers' unions have generally taken a negative stance to proposals which would introduce assistants to work alongside the teacher in the classroom, in the teacher's "home base". Yet, at the same time, unions have been pressing to relieve teachers of "non-professional" work outside of structured learning situations. This distinction has been very deliberately drawn by the English (and Welsh) National Union of Teachers. The NUT has strongly (and successfully) opposed proposals by the Department of Education and Science during the 1960's to introduce "teachers' aides" who would provide supervisory support during teaching sessions. The NUT refers to such staff as "auxiliaries". But the union has welcomed "ancillaries" who would "relieve teachers of onerous clerical, administrative, and welfare responsibilities that do not constitute teaching in any sense". Thus, the union compaigned successfully to relieve teachers of the duty to supervise pupils during the mid-day meal, and "lunch time supervisors" (or "dining room supervisors) have been introduced in schools throughout the country. They have also welcomed improved provisions for secretarial help or laboratory technicians.

The NUT has not published any clear specification of what they see as the limit between "teaching" and "non-teaching" duties, but they appear in practice to set rather wide limits to "teaching" and to limit the work suitable for "ancillaries" to what Hilsum and Cane called "mechanical/clerical" tasks (cf. ch.I. 2.A) or what Duthie called "housekeeping" duties (ch.I.2.B). The NUT is opposed to assistants supervising children except in non-teaching situations: meals, escorting pupils to various destinations, and in an extra capacity to supervise pupils in the playground. For the NUT, invigilation during exams or "hearing children read" are tasks for the teachers, not for assistants.

The NUT's strategy of encouraging "ancillaries" but opposing "auxiliaries" seems consistent with the organisation's struggle to establish teaching as a "profession". Such "profession building" strategies entail (a) shedding responsibility for less prestigeous "non-professional" tasks, and (b) claiming the right to monopolise more prestigeous tasks within a well-defined occupational domain. To establish clearly defined boundaries between "professional" and "non-professional" tasks and to defend these boundaries against incursions from the outside are invariably crucial objectives in this endeavour. One could argue that giving teachers subordinates would enhance their status and ease professionalisation. However, the problem of delineating tasks which are distinctly "professional" then becomes more difficult - even if assistants would work under a teacher's direction. If the gate is slightly opened, there is always from the union's point of view the possibility that some teachers will neglect to "hold the line" - especially in a national system that gives local school units relatively great autonomy. The clearly defensive stance of the National Union of Teachers is undoubtedly influenced by the fact that assistants were originally proposed as a means of alleviating teacher shortage during the sixties. It would seem that unions - like individual teachers - will be most accepting of assistants in classrooms when members feel at ease with their occupational status.

The attitude of unions is also naturally conditioned by the labour market for teachers. If there is a surplus of trained teachers, the unions and educational administrators alike have a natural interest in finding jobs for teachers, not in replacing them with assistants or self-instructional materials. If there is a shortage of teachers, assistants introduced to alleviate the shortage raise the spectre of "professional dilution" in the eyes of union officials who will use the shortage to argue for higher salaries and expanded training programmes. Probably, unions would be most receptive to assistants when there is a near balance between teacher supply and demand, because it is then easier to separate the pedagogic rationales for assistants from the labour market context. Regardless of labour market conditions, however, assistants will seem most acceptable to teachers when they are clearly separated in education budgets, so that assistants and teaching-hours do not appear to compete with each other.

Unions fear assistants in classrooms for another reason: that their presence will prove divisive for the unity of school staffs for collective bargaining purposes. In many countries teachers are already divided into different interest groups according to type of school, religious affiliation, or party-political association. There is the fear that the emergence of "sub-professionals" will further splinter the interest advocacy of school staffs. A communication from the main union of primary teachers in The Federal Republic of Germany, the trades-union affiliated GEW, expresses this anxiety:

> "We do not agree to the proposal of introducing a group of so-called school-assistants, school aides or paraprofessional personnel who would take over certain educational duties, e.g., a teacher's educational routine work, tutoring of small groups of children, etc. We fear that these assistants will form a body of second-class or sub-teachers, not sufficiently trained for their job and less paid. We think that everybody to whom educational duties are assigned, should have a full-scale initial education. They could be used, too, to break up the unity of the teaching force. Our long and dreadful experience with different groups of teachers differently trained and paid, working under different conditions, makes us suspicious of any new attempt to further split up the teaching force."

Introducing assistants to help with "general school duties" or to provide materials and equipment support for teachers seems uncontroversial and is welcomed by teachers, especially if it does not compete with funds for teaching hours. The question of assistants working alongside teachers in classrooms to also provide "supervisory" support is sharply controversial - even if abstracted from the present labout market conditions for teachers. One can hypothesize that such assistants would be most welcome under "balanced" labour market conditions and when teachers individually and collectively through their unions are secure about their status in society. For teachers to concentrate more fully on core pedagogic tasks will then seem less like a retrenchment, and assistants will seem less like an incursion into a professional domain that teachers are trying to secure.

The material examined in this report suggests that teachers and assistants can - at least under favourable conditions - work productively together in classrooms. In general, assistants like having their role "stretched" into supervisory pedagogic functions. Considerable attention has in this chapter been devoted to sources of tension in teacher-assistant relations and to ways of reducing such tensions. This emphasis on tensions does not mean that such tensions are very common in teacher-assistant relations. It is hard to assess the extent of conflict, but important to identify the sources of conflict in order to reduce its likelihood. All in all, the evidence indicates that teachers working with assistants in classrooms usually appreciate

their presence, if assistants and teachers are sensitively matched. Also, teachers seem willing to give assistants greater responbility after some experience of working with them. But even the most positive teachers are opposed to a scheme which would impose assistants on reluctant individual teachers or a scheme which would match teachers and helpers in an impersonal way, without due regard to personal compatibility.

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UNITED STATES

THE UTILIZATION OF PARAPROFESSIONALS

by

Alan Gartner
New Careers Training Laboratory

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Preface

As is to be expected in a study which is of an innovative practice, and which is done in the framework of an international effort, the issues of nomenclature and the very terms of analysis present immediate problems. Without belaboring the point, it is sufficient to note that the titles used by OECD* do not fit the United States practice; indeed, the distinction made by OECD between Specialists and Assistants is not a useful one in describing the U.S. scene. Therefore, the plan here is to use those terms and organizational schemes which present with greatest clarity the situation as it applies in the U.S. as regards educational paraprofessionals, which is the term we shall use as it is one both most common in the U.S. and which characterizes an entire group of workers. It should be noted, however, that the terms vary both geographically and in regards to function, so that one finds titles such as aide, auxiliary, teacher aides, teacher assistant, teacher associate, teacher interne, specialist, counseling aide, Bilingual Aide, Home-School Coordinator, Library Aides, Media Technician, Special Education Aide, School Laboratory Assistant, Health Aide.

*"Analysis of Profiles of Teacher Roles and Tasks as Related to Overall Learning Resources," Addendum, "Case Studies on the Utilization of Personnel Other Than Teachers, Especially Assistants in Schools," Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development, Directorate for Social Affairs, Manpower and Education, SME/ET/76.1, March 11, 1976.

Historical Background

The earliest use of paraprofessionals in U.S. schools, Lancaster's monitorial system (1789), was as an economy measure -- young men used to multiply the number of persons an adult teacher could teach.[1] The monitor acted as little more than a transmission belt from teacher to pupils. An unplanned for and serendipitous effect was that the monitors themselves learned by teaching.[2] The monitorial system died out in the 1830's, partly due to an excess of greed and partly because in the post-Civil War period great emphasis was placed on certificated teachers. It was not until more than a century later that paraprofessional programs in the schools gained attention.

Following World War II, schools sought various ways to address staff shortages. At Bay City (Mich.), a study showed that "teachers were spending anywhere from 21 to 69 percent of their time on nonteaching chores."[3] Faced with rising enrollment, the school sought to develop more effective ways to utilize staff. Eight college-trained women were employed as teacher aides. A final evaluation found that teachers

1. For a fuller description of the history of paraprofessional programs, see Alan Gartner, Paraprofessionals and Their Performance (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971)
2. Alan Gartner, Mary Conway Kohler, and Frank Riessman, Children Teach Children: Learning Through Teaching (New York: Harper and Row, 1971).
3. Decade of Experiment: The Fund for the Advancement of Education, 1951-61 (New York: Ford Foundation, 1961), p. 48

with aides spent more time on instructional activities; there was little objective evidence bearing on the quality of instruction in classrooms with teacher aides as opposed to those without; teacher aides facilitated better deployment of teachers and experimentation with staffing, although there was no noticeable change in teaching methods; the program had little effect on over-all costs; and many of the aides were potential recruits for teaching (in fact, five of the initial eight went on to become teachers).[4]

The program was adopted by more than 50 other Michigan systems. Fairfield, Connecticut, and New York City developed volunteer-and paid-aide programs. By 1961, there were over 5,000 aides across the country. In 1956, the Education Testing Service (ETS) conducted a lay-reader experiment in New Jersey and Massachusetts, and this offshoot of the Bay City program had spread to some 120 school systems by 1961.[5]

In a summary of its efforts in this area, the Ford Foundation, which provided support to Bay City and many successive efforts, wrote the following:

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4. "A Cooperative Study for the Better Utilization of Teacher Competencies" (Mount Pleasant: Central Michigan University, 1960).
5. Decade of Experiment, op cit., p. 50.

> The significance of the Bay City type of project is that aides are used to improve the quality of education by freeing teachers to spend their time in actual teaching. This use of aides was a distinct departure from the past, particularly from the monitorial system that flourished in the U.S. a century or more ago, in which aides were used to educate large numbers of children inexpensively-and inadequately.[6]

But the general consensus was less optimistic than the sponsors; it focused on the fact that aides were not replacements for teachers and that the use of aides could not be a justification for larger classes.[7] For many in the increasingly organized teaching profession, Bay City came to be remembered as an effort to hire "cheap teachers." A survey of articles in the professional education journals between 1942 and 1957 found critics of aide programs charging that aides were used to justify larger classes, that not all teachers could work with aides, that evaluation was difficult, and that use of aides encouraged rote learning. Advocates claimed that aides were a valuable, temporary measure, that the classroom was enriched by the use of another adult, and that the aide was a possible teacher recruit.[8]

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6. Ibid., p. 51
7. "A Symposium: The Bay City, Michigan Experiment, A Cooperative Study for the Better Utilization of Teacher Competencies," Journal of Teacher Education, VII, 2 (June, 1956), 110-52.
8. Barry Greenberg, "Review of Literature Relating to the Use of Nonprofessionals in Education (From 1942 to 1967)" (New York: New Careers Development Center, New York University, 1967),p.4.

J.L. Trump, in his comprehensive examination of secondary education, enumerated six categories of teacher functions: Professional teacher, paraprofessional assistant, clerk, general aide, community consultant, and staff specialist.[9] Many of Trump's ideas came to be incorporated in the work of the Committee on the Experimental Study of the Staff in the Secondary School. A 1962 study of the secondary schools involved found most aides were teachers in training; others were college students, college-trained adults, and least of all, other adults. The major functions they performed were as lay readers, clerks, objective-test graders, library assistants, and study-hall supervisors.[10] At all grade levels, a 1953 survey of 800 New York school districts found that 51 percent used paraprofessionals (a total of 2,389), with "exceedingly favorable results."[11]

In a summary of the situation shortly before the new thrust of the antipoverty effort, Robert Anderson wrote:

9. J.L. Trump, "A Look Ahead in Secondary Education" National Association of Secondary School Principals Bulletin, XLII, 234 (January, 1958), 5-15.
10. Ira J. Singer, "Survey of Staff Utilization Practices in Six States," National Association of Secondary School Principals Bulletin, XLVI, 270 (January, 1962), 1-11.
11. Kenneth B. Matheny and Yvonne Oslin, "Utilization of Paraprofessionals in Education and the Helping Professions: A Review of the Literature" paper presented to the American Educational Research Association, Minneapolis, March, 1970).

> Only a decade ago, when pilot projects in the use of teacher aides and other nonprofessional assistants first began to appear in the literature, the predominate reaction of the profession was negative, even hostile. In 1964, it is rare to find discussions of utilization of school personnel in which non-professionals are not considered a welcome addition.[12]

The Surge of Aids

The social welfare programs of the 1960's provided a substantial new base for paraprofessional programs, in the schools and elsewhere. Three major legislative efforts are important -- the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), passed in 1965; the 1966 "New Careers Amendment" to the Economic Opportunity Act; and the Education Professions Development Act, adopted in 1967 as Part D of the Higher Education Act.

Aggregated and longitudinal data as to the utilization of paraprofessional are scarce, and, more consequential for our purposes, frequently non-comparable. The most up-to-date study,[13] is not comprehensive, while studies which are more comprehensive in terms of school districts included, are less up-to-date and less extensive in types of data reported.

12. Robert Anderson, "Organizational Characteristics of Education -- Staff Utilization and Development," Review of Educational Research, XXXIV, 4 (October, 1964), 455-66.
13. Jorie Lester Mark, "Training and Utilization of Paraprofessionals: A Study of the Nation's Public School Systems Enrolling 5,000 Pupils or More," Unpub. Ph.D. Dissertation, Graduate School of Education, University of Massachusetts, May, 1975.

Defining "Teacher Aides" as "staff members who perform activities of a nonteaching nature which are not classified as professional educational, but which assist a staff member to perform professional educational teaching assignments,"[14] the National Center for Educational Statistics reported the following data.

Table 1

Teacher Aides, 1969-1974
(In full-time equivalents)

	1969-70	1971-72	1973-74
Number of Teacher Aides	57,418	130,610	165,709

Sources: Statistics of State School Systems, (Washington, D.C.: National Center for Educational Statistics), Reports for the School Years 1969-70, 1971-72, 1973-74. Table 15.

Despite their official source, one cannot be confident as to the data in Table 1. First, there is the question of definition. As noted, above, it is both convoluted and restrictive, e.g., persons who worked in the classroom with teachers performing teaching functions would seem to be excluded. It is not known how many of them are included elsewhere in the data on school personnel, in such categories as "Other Non-supervisory instructional personnel" or "Other

14. Office of Education Report Form 2097, Table 6. Interestingly, this is the only job classification for which a definition was deemed necessary.

Employees," which in the 1973-74 reports accounted for 16,167 and 206,437, respectively.[15]

Second, other sources report quite different data. For example, for the 1969-70 school year, according to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare's "Consolidated Program Information Report" (CPIR), based on a national sample of 1,000 school districts representing the nation's 11,000 local educational agencies enrolling 300 pupils or more, there were 144,136 "educational aides" in federally funded programs.[16] (In other words, it excludes all aides other than those in federally-funded programs, and all aides in school districts enrolling fewer than 300 pupils.) Note that this figure is three times all the "Teacher Aides" reported in Table 1. And the latest CPIR, for 1971-72, reports 157,000 "Educational Aides" in federally-funded programs;[17] again, this exceeds all "Teacher Aides" reported in Table 1.

15. Statistics of State School Systems, 1973-74 (Washington, D.C.: National Center for Educational Statistics, 1976), Tables 14 and 15.
16. Robert Crosby and Lawrence Weiner, Children in Need and Federal Aid to Education: An Analysis of the 1970 Consolidated Program Information Report (CPIR). (Bethesda, Maryland: Resource Management Corp. Inc., 1971), p. 9.
17. Consolidated Program Information Report (CPIR), Regular School Term 1971-72 and Summer Term, 1972. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1975), Table 3.

And the most recently available data, based upon surveys in school years 1971-72 and 1972-73, of school systems which enrolled 5,000 or more pupils, show 135,809 paraprofessionals.[18] While on the surface this figure does not contradict those in Table i, in fact they are not compatible. The Mark survey excluded the nearly seventeen thousand school districts enrolling fewer than five thousand pupils, and of the 1,812 districts surveyed, 1,148 responded. Thus, the figure Mark reports, 135,809, is only part of the total number of paraprofessionals employed; what percentage of the total, however, is not possible to know from the available data.

It is a comment as to the still tenuous position of paraprofessionals in the schools that the data about them are so inadequate. Relying most on the CPIR data, assuming that federally supported aides represent no more than two-thirds of the total (and most probably less), and allowing for a gradual increase, at least through the 1974-75 school year, we estimate that in the present school year, there are approximately 300,000 paraprofessionals in the schools.

Another facet of the picture as to the number of paraprofessionals is seen in data developed by the National Education Association, based on a survey questionnaire sent to all school districts with enrollments of 12,000 or more

18. Mark, op cit., p. 135.

(except New York City), and to a stratefied sample of those di-stricts enrolling 300 or more. While in 1966, more than half the districts (58 percent) reported no aides used, in 1971 only 19 percent reported no aides used.[19]

And in the spring of 1971, based on a sample study, three in ten teachers reported they had one or more teacher aides to assist them; one teacher in twenty had an aide assigned to her/him alone, while one in four shared an aide.[20]

19. "Helping Teachers with Teacher Aides," NEA Research Bulletin, May, 1972, p. 61.
20. Ibid.

The Present Situation

The Schools

When we turn from overall numbers to subsets of data, the base becomes yet more tenuous. What are available provide pieces of a picture.

Large city elementary schools in poverty neighborhoods are most likely to employ paraprofessionals.

Table 2

Schools With Classroom Aides, 1969-70
(By Percent)

	Poverty		Nonpoverty	
	Elementary	Secondary	Elementary	Secondary
All	58	36	35	28
Large Cities	72	26	37	5

Source: The Education Professions, An Annual Report on the People Who Serve Our Schools and Colleges, 1969-70 (Washington, D.C.: Office of Education, 1970), Table 14.

Several sources confirm and update this picture. For example, a U.S. Office of Education study, for 1970, reports that while 58 percent of all elementary schools employed "teacher aides," 82 percent of the districts with an elementary enrollment of a thousand or more did so.[21] An NEA sample study for 1971 reports that while 22 percent of the districts with enrollments of 300 to 2,999 had no aides, only 3 percent of those with enrollments of 25,000 or more had none.[22] And Mark reports that the 108 largest districts in her study, each enrolling thirty thousand or more pupils, had 50 percent of the total pupils, 49 percent of the total teachers, and 59 percent of the total paraprofessionals.[23] Another way of stating this is Mark's report that for her whole sample there were an average of 146.7 pupils per paraprofessional, while in the school districts with 100,000 and more pupils there were an average of 111.3[24]

The Paraprofessionals

There are no national data as to the personal characteristics of paraprofessionals. It is believed that the greatest proportion of them are female, have a high school diploma but little more formal education, reside in the area where they work, are more likely to be non-white than is the teaching staff.

21. Leslie Silverman and Forrest Jewell, Staffing Characteristics of Elementary and Secondary Schools, Spring 1970 (Washington D.C.: Office of Education, 1974), Table A-1.
22. "Helping Teachers...," op cit., p. 61
23. Mark, op cit., Table 4A.
24. Ibid., Table 5A

The best body of data relate to the U.S. Office of Education supported Career Opportunities Program. (This program, the largest paraprofessional program in the United States during its five years of operation, 1969-75, is discussed in detail below.) In 1972, the Career Opportunities Program enrolled 13,477 paraprofessional participants, a figure equal, in all likelihood, to in excess of 5 percent of all paraprofessionals. While interesting, and therefore presented, the characteristics of the Career Opportunities Program enrollees cannot be considered as representative of the total paraprofessional universe for the legislative thrust of that program, toward schools serving low-income children, as well as the programmatic direction, toward minority communities, necessarily affected the mix of its enrollees.

Table 3

Characteristics of Participants in the Career Opportunities Program, 1972

Total Participants	13,477
Female	76%
Black	54%
Chicano	10%
Puerto Rican	3%
Native American	3%
White	24%
Other	2%
Low-Income Background	86%

Source: Crist Costa, et al., A Comparative Study of Career Opportunities Program Graduates (New York: New Careers Training Laboratory, Queens College, 1975), Table II-4.

Activities of Paraprofessionals

There are an abundance of data as to what paraprofessionals in particular school districts do; however, there is little of it on an overall basis. While the data in Table 4 are not likely to be a precise picture, given its limitations as to data collection, the picture it presents is likely to be generally accurate as to what aides do and the direction of the changes over time in what they do.

Table 4

Duties of Aides

	1971	1966
Clerical Assistance to Teachers	89	65
Playground Supervision	68	44
Instructional Assistance to Teacher	62	35
Cafeteria Supervision	59	49
Tutoring	38	13
Bus Loading Supervision	28	12
Corridor Monitoring	21	18
Laboratory Assistance	18	15

Source: "Helping Teachers With Teacher Aides," NEA Research Bulletin May, 1972, pp. 62-63.

While there was an increase between 1966 and 1971 in all activities undertaken by aides, the greatest percentage increase was in the area of "instructional assistance to teachers," up 77 percent. This pattern of increased involvement of paraprofessionals in teaching-learning activities seems to reflect the ongoing trend.

Turning from national data to a report on paraprofessionals in California school districts in 1975, we find a more fine grained picture of what paraprofessionals do. The most useful data are the reports of elementary school teachers in whose classrooms paraprofessionals work.

Table 5

Classroom Activities of Paraprofessionals
(By Percent)

	Never	Seldom	Frequently	Regularly
Maintains Classroom Attendance Records	50	18	13	17
Assigns Grades to Students	77	14	3	2
Formulates Individual And/Or Class Objectives	53	29	10	4
Designs Learning Activities and Materials	19	35	32	9
Plans the Use of Learning Activities and Materials	24	41	24	7

	Never	Seldom	Frequently	Regularly
Introduces Subject Matter	40	36	14	5
Carries on a Sequence of Questions Related to a Particular Concept or Topic	10	22	42	20
Scores Objective and/or Standardized Tests	17	21	37	19
Directs Small Group Discussion Related to a Particular Concept or Topic	5	14	44	33
Monitors Individual Learning Activity Including Redirection of the Pupil's Activity	4	10	39	43
Listens to, and Corrects Pupil Recitation	5	13	38	37
Evaluates Pupil Progress	22	28	30	11

Source: Paraprofessionals in California School Districts, 1975 (Burlingame Calif.: California Agency for Research in Education, 1975), Tables 15-26.

Most precise, of course, are the actual descriptions from local school districts as to the activities of the paraprofessionals employed. (It should be noted that there are no standard nationwide descriptions, nor are there statewide standard job descriptions.) Something of the range of activities

carried out by paraprofessionals is indicated by job descriptions from Cleveland (Ohio), San Francisco (California), and Savannah (Georgia). (Appendix A) In the Cleveland example, there is a three-step progression (Performance Levels I, II, and III); in the San Francisco examples, there is a wide range of programs in which aides are involved (e.g., early childhood, counseling, bilingual, media, library, handicapped, laboratory, health); and in the Savannah examples, we have a combination of differing levels of role and fields of activity.

Yet another way to examine the activities of paraprofessionals is to look at related fields. The counseling field is an area where considerable attention has been given to the role(s) of paraprofessionals. A key factor in the development here was the early and supportive activities of the largest professional organization, the American Personnel and Guidance Association (APGA). In 1967, APGA issued a policy statement declaring,

> appropriately prepared support personnel, under the supervision of the counselor, can contribute to meet the counselees' needs by enhancing the work of the counselor. The appropriate work of such personnel will facilitate the work of the counselor and make the total endeavor more effective.[25]

Something of the range of the consequences of this statement, as well as of other forces supporting the use of paraprofessionals in counseling, can be seen in two 1974 documents, one a special issue of APGA's journal, The Personnel and Guidance Journal, "Paras, Peers, and Pros,"[26] and the other, a literature search and analysis of the paraprofessional counselor.[27] Among the programs reported

25. American Personnel and Guidance Association, Professional Preparation and Standards Committee "Support Personnel for the Counselor: Their Technical and Non-Technical Roles and Preparation," Personnel and Guidance Journal, XLV (1967), pp. 858-861
26. Special Issue: Paras, Peers, and Pros," The Personnel and Guidance Journal, LIII,4 (December, 1974).
27. Libby Benjamin, et al., Paraprofessionals in Human Services: An ERIC/CAP Perspective on the Preparation, Training and Future of the Paraprofessional Counselor (Ann Arbor, Michigan: ERIC Counseling and Personnel Services Information Center, 1974).

on in these two publications and elsewhere are:

-- Project HELP, designed to bring high school drop outs back to school at a large suburban high school in Lincoln Park, Illinois;[28]
-- The "Teacher Moms" program at the Elmont School District (New York), where each "teacher-mom" is assigned to one disturbed child to provide a supportive relationship, and, this relationship becomes a vehicle for learning;[29]
-- At the Baker's Dozen Community Mental Health Center, youth, 17 through 21, were trained as mental health workers for neighborhood children.[30]
-- The Primary Mental Health Project in the Rochester (N.Y.) public schools used paraprofessionals (called "Child Aides") as the primary personnel resource in a program of early detection and prevention.[31]

While it is not the focus of our attention, there are a wide variety of volunteer paraprofessional programs, many of them in counseling. Indeed, one of the more interesting developments in the area is that of peer counseling, both at the

28. Cereta E. Perry, The Use of Paraprofessionals in Counseling (Ann Arbor, Michigan: ERIC/CAPS, 1973).
29. George T. Donahue and Sol Nichtern, Teaching The Troubled Child (New York: The Free Press, 1965).
30. Charles Grosser et al., (Eds.), Nonprofessionals in the Human Services (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1969).
31. Emory L. Cowan, New Ways in School Mental Health: Early Selection and Prevention of School Maladaption (New York: Human Sciences Press, 1976).

high school[32] and college levels.[33]

As we have noted, most paraprofessionals work in pre-school and elementary grades. Two national studies report between a fifth and a quarter of the school paraprofessionals at the junior and senior high levels.[34] A statewide study of paraprofessionals in Oregon's public schools reports a variety of job titles including clerical aides (the largest group, some 38 percent of the total), resource center aides, audio-visual paraprofessionals, student supervision aides, instructional aides including reading aides, language aides, industrial arts aides.[35] While the roles of the clerical, audio-visual

32. Barbara Varenhorst, "Tracing Adolescents as Peer Counselors," The Personnel and Guidance Journal, LIII, 4(December, 1974).
33. Edmund E. Allen, "Paraprofessionals in a Large-Scale University Program," The Personnel and Guidance Journal, LIII, 4 (December, 1974); Ursula Delworth and William F. Brown, "The Paraprofessional, A Member of the College Guidance Team," in Alan Gartner, et al., (Eds.), The Paraprofessional Today: Education (New York: Human Sciences Press, 1977).
34. "Teacher Aides in Public Schools," National Education Association Research Bulletin, XLVI, 6 (May, 1967 "Teacher Aides in Public Schools," National Education Association Research Bulletin, XLVIII, 1 (March, 1970).
35. Bill F. Stewart, "The Role of Secondary School Para-Professionals," Oregon School Study Council Bulletin, XIV, 10 (June, 1971).

and student supervision aides are similar to the activities detailed above, those of the resource center and instructional aides warrant further note. With the advent of the modular flexible schedule and/or multiple-period day in Oregon secondary schools, there has been a corresponding growth of supportive facilities. With such facilities as resource centers, expanded library services, audio-visual centers, and open labs has come the need for personnel in addition to teachers to staff these facilities. Resource center aides primarily assist students with materials. The following is a composite list of tasks performed by resource center aides in Oregon secondary schools.[36]

1. Take attendance or a daily count, by the period, of the students using the resource center
2. Instruct and supervise student aides
3. Supervise students in the resource center
4. Assist students with their instructional assignments
5. Encourage and listen to students as needed
6. Organize and maintain a "clearing house" for student make-up work, tests, and assignments
7. Maintain catalog file of author and title cards
8. Process books for circulation
9. Check files for overdue books and prepare fine slips
10. Compile various statistical reports about center activities
11. Maintain audio-visual materials files and check out and in
12. Help students locate needed materials

36. Ibid., pp. 24-25.

13. Check materials out and in
14. Repair books with minor damage
15. Maintain audio-visual equipment when possible
16. Take inventories as directed
17. Maintain print material files of all types
18. Maintain the physical appearance of the resource center
19. Replace books and magazines on shelves or supervise student assistants doing the tasks
20. Make appointments for student-teacher conferences
21. Process magazines and daily newspapers for resource center
22. Assist students in operating audio-visual equipment
23. Correct objective tests for teachers in department
24. Prepare materials for teachers using center
25. Type departmental tests, correspondence, stencils, book orders, etc.
26. Operate reproduction machines
27. Make audio-visual aids for instructional purposes
28. Meet with department teachers to coordinate the activities of the resource center and the instructional program
29. Furnish students with supplies as needed
30. Handle discipline problems as directed
31. Organize and run a textbook depository for departments
32. Assemble materials for collating, punching holes, and stapling
33. Coordinate departments' audio-visual orders
34. Issue hall passes and other routine forms

The major difference between the use of paraprofessionals in the elementary and secondary grades is at the former the paraprofessional is more likely to be assigned on a regular basis to work in a classroom. Thus, it is not surprising that in the Oregon study of paraprofessionals in secondary schools, working in a classroom was the least common activity. Most of these worked as reading aides, with others working in

language laboratories, industrial arts, and science laboratories.[37]

As special programs develop, paraprofessional utilization increases in areas such as bilingual education, education for children of migrants, Indian education programs, adult education programs, and programs for the education of the handicapped.[38] It is likely that it is in this last field, special education, that there will be the greatest growth of paraprofessionals in the coming period. Largely, this will come about as part of the implementation of "Education for All Handicapped Children Act (PL. 94-142)", which, in brief, requires that all children be educated in the least restrictive environment. For some, this will mean being "mainstreamed," that is spending all or part of their day

37. Ibid., pp. 30-33.
38. Beverly McConnell, "Training Migrant Paraprofessionals in Bilingual Mini Head Start, Final Evaluation, 1974-75 Program Year" (Ephrata, Washington: Intermediate School District, 104); Bridging the Gap: Recruiting Indian People for Careers in Education (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Recruitment Leadership and Training Institute, 1975); Max Way and Sharon Moore, Helping Adults Learn: A Handbook for Home Instruction Paraprofessionals in Basic Education (Moorehead, Kentucky: Appalachian Adult Education Center, 1975); Peter Weisner, The Salem Cable Television Project: A Demonstration of the Use of Cable Television and Paraprofessional Tutors as an Alternative to Traditional ABE Classroom Instruction (Salem, New Jersey: Salem City Schools, 1975); Mary-Beth Fafard, et al., "Present and Projected Utilization of Paraprofessionals in Educational Programs for Handicapped Children," in Gartner, et al., (Eds.), op cit.

in "regular" classes, while for other children, who had either been institutionalized or kept at home, it will mean special classes. In both cases, there is likely to be an increase in the utilization of paraprofessionals. A 1974 survey reported that in excess of 27,000 paraprofessionals were employed in special education programs, and that in all but one state it was expected that their utilization would increase.[39] In contrast to the paraprofessionals' activities in the regular schools which emphasized support activities, (see Table 4, above) in special education programs paraprofessionals were engaged in a full range of activities, most extensively in individual activities with children and outdoor activities.

Table 6

Activities of Paraprofessionals in Special Education Programs a)

Nature of Use	Number of Facilities b)	Percentage
Individual activities with children in classroom	273	85
Outdoor Activities	224	70
Lunch programs, rest periods, health needs	188	59
Clerical Work	136	42
Audio-Visual Equipment	94	29

a) Based upon a national survey of state and private schools.
b) The total exceeds the 348 responding facilities as many utilized paraprofessionals in more than one way.

39. Mary-Beth Fafard, op cit.

Source: The Utilization and Training of Paraprofessionals in Special Education: Present Status and Future Prospects (New York: New Careers Training Laboratory, Queens College, 1974), Table V-5.

Recruitment, Employment, and Training

Central in the determination of recruitment, employment and training of paraprofessionals is the fact of local school district autonomy. The decisions as to who will be recruited, the bases of their employment, and the nature of their training basicly are decisions of the local educational agency. This is not to say, of course, that there are no commonalities as to these matters among districts, or that there are no general patterns, guidelines, even external directions. Key here is the role of the federal government, and, to a lesser extent, various of the state governments.

As noted earlier, the major impetus in the expansion of paraprofessional programs was the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA). In 1966, in its second year of operation, 36 percent of the paraprofessional programs were supported by ESEA funds; by 1971, the percent of school districts using aides had doubled (from 42 percent to 81 percent), and so nearly had the percent supported by ESEA, from 36 percent to 68 percent.[40] Indeed, as the number of aides and the percent

40. "Helping Teachers With Aides," op cit., p. 63.

of districts using them increased, the percent of districts supporting aides without outside funds dropped, from 54 percent in 1966 to 37 percent in 1971.[41]

Although the funding is increasingly federal, and many of the programs subsequent to the initial ESEA have supported paraprofessionals (e.g., Bilingual Education, Indian Education, Drop-Out Prevention, Drug Education, Community Schools), there are no federal standards as to qualifications for paraprofessionals. Some programs emphasize particular background (viz. race, language, income) characteristics, but none have absolute requirements. Similarly, there are no national standards for employment, although some states have developed laws regarding aides (e.g., California, Florida, Illinois, New York, and Ohio); others have licensure procedures (including Delaware, Illinois, Iowa, Michigan, New Jersey, New Mexico, Ohio, Vermont, and Wisconsin); others have extensive guidelines issued by the state department as to qualifications, use, and supervision of aides (Colorado, Kansas, Mississippi, Montana, New Jersey, New York, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Washington, West Virginia, and Wyoming); and still others have licensure provisions for particular programs, such as special education (Georgia, Hawaii, New Mexico, Ohio, Vermont, West Virginia, and Wisconsin, Washington, D.C.).[42]

41. Ibid.
42. Teacher Aides: A Suggested Two-Year Post-High School Curriculum (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1974), p. 17; New Careers Training Laboratory, op cit., Table III-3.

Generally, for entry level paraprofessional jobs local districts have required that applicants have a high school diploma, and that they be able to demonstrate by previous work or prior voluntary activities their commitment to children's education.

Early programs generally did not require prior training, although a 1966 amendment to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act did require that paraprofessionals supported with its funds be trained once employed. Indeed, the pattern of in-service education and training has predominated. Increasingly, however, prior training has become a requirement, although it is no doubt still true that a majority of entry-level paraprofessional jobs do not require it, and, concomitantly, that most training received by paraprofessionals is in-service and provided by staff at the public school.

Not only is prior training increasingly being required, so, too, there is an increasing role being played by colleges, particularly the two-year colleges. A 1970 study[43] states that of 760 institutions of higher education offering degree programs for paraprofessionals (by 1973, there were 976 such institutions[44]), 493 or 64 percent offered degrees in education.

43. "Teacher Aides," op cit., p. 15.
44. New Human Services Institute, College Programs for Paraprofessionals (New York: The Institute, Queens College, 1975).

The 1970 study found that the paraprofessionals performed with considerable academic success and that colleges were making changes to accomodate the new students. Among the key findings of the study were

-- 60 percent of the paraprofessionals did as well, and 20 percent did better than regular students enrolled in similar courses;
-- At 50 percent of the schools, the dropout rate among the paraprofessionals was lower than for other students, while it was the same at another 24 percent;
-- There were nearly 20,000 paraprofessional students at the 162 institutions included in the detailed analysis, and of them, 84 percent were women.[45]

Reflecting this increased interest in college programs for paraprofessionals, both pre-service and in-service, the U.S. Office of Education has published a suggested curriculum for teacher aides.[46] The curriculum specifies seven overall goals, towards the ends of:

1) understanding the paraprofessional's role in affecting professional practice and performance, the children and their learning, the community and its interrelationship with the school;
2) being more aware of the present and potential relationships between community and school, the factors which mitigate against effective connection and the factors which can contribute toward effective connection;

45. "Teacher Aides," op cit., p. 16.
46. Ibid.

3) having insight into the nature of the teaching role, the teaching/learning relationship and the roles in that relationship of school and community, and teachers, aides, and children.

4) being aware of the nature, history, values, mores, structure and style of the community from which the children come, and how they effect the children's lives, values, interests, future, relationship to school.

5) gaining possession of various forms of teaching procedures so as to be able to introduce, facilitate and utilize techniques appropriate to the children's age, development, background and style, as well as the subject matter. Among the areas of special concern are individual and peer learning, and learning through teaching, as well as techniques in the management of groups, conducting role plays and simulation, use of brainstorming and analytic techniques.

6) being familiar with the subject matter of the particular grade level(s), especially the nature of new developments, sources of additional information, structure of the field of knowledge, nature of its method of inquiry.

7) providing a base for participant continuing growth and education, and should she wish, of further career development.[47]

The curriculum consists of thirteen courses, which, combined with work in the classroom (either the employment of the paraprofessional or a practicum for a full-time student), would earn the participant an Associates degree. The course descriptions indicate something of the dimensions of the program.

School and Community

A course which focuses upon the relationship between school and community, the roles of each in the education of the child. Special attention is given to the role of the teacher aide.

Instructional Media

A course which introduces the student to various instructional media and explores and practices their application, appropriateness, and means of utilization in varying situations.

Communication Skills

A course which enables the student to gain mastery of reading, writing, speaking, and analysis skills. The student will become familiar with various writing and speaking styles, and tools of analysis.

47. Ibid., p. 26.

Curriculum Methods

A course which will familiarize the student with methods of selection, construction, presentation and evaluation of learning material. Students will observe the implementation of curriculum and themselves develop and implement specific teaching materials.

Child Development

A course which will familiarize the student with various theories of development as relate to the physical, intellectual, social and emotional growth of the child.

Language Arts Skills for Children

A course which will introduce the student to the basic theoretical perspectives and practical applications in the areas of reading, writing, and speaking.

Community Development

A course which is designed to develop an understanding of current concepts and theories of community development, community organization, roles of citizens, forms of social intervention.

Teaching/Learning Methods

A course which will familiarize the student with general teaching/learning designs to enable him/her to choose among a repetoire of methods and techniques appropriate for the specified instructional goal and student population.

Mathematics Skills for Children

A course which will familiarize the student with the basic theoretical perspectives and practical applications in contemporary mathematics.

Tests and Measurements

A course which will expose the student to the purposes, forms and limits of assessment and evaluation, enable him/her to see evaluation as an integral part of the teaching/learning process.

Human Service Issues

A course which will enable the participant to gain a cross-sector vision of the human services, to see their areas of commonality and differences, and to understand the interrelationships between and among them.

Community History

A course which will familiarize the student with the history and background of the local community, and to know its values, mores, customs, and styles.

Libraries as Learning Tools

A course which will familiarize the student with the resources for children's learning available at the school and local library, and to enable the student to facilitate that learning.[48]

48. Ibid., p. 28

Paraprofessionals and Pupil Learning

Any effort to evaluate pupil performance is complicated, and the complications are increased immeasurably when one seeks to isolate the effect of a particular factor, such as the role of paraprofessionals, on that performance. Studies of performance are complicated by questions of what criterion is to be used, such as reading scores and the like, or more subtle measures in the cognitive area, to say nothing of the affective domain. Thus, to assess the role of the paraprofessional on pupil learning, we must seek a variety of methods and sources, and, even so, express results with some caution. The data which follow were collected from many sources, came to the issues from different vantage points, and sought answers to varying questions.

The American Institute for Research on behalf of the U.S. Office of Education, conducted a survey of the professional educational literature, 1963-68, that described compensatory education programs.[49] Of the 1,000 programs described, 23 were found to have yielded "measured educational benefits of cognitive achievement." Of these 23, 10, or 43 percent of the total sample of 1,000 programs used paraprofessionals.

49. A Study of Selected Programs for the Education of Disadvantaged Children (Palo Alto, California: American Institute for Research, 1968).

The most carefully studied individual paraprofessional program in education to date is that of the Minneapolis Public Schools.[50] Between 1966 and 1968, that system employed between 225 and 300 paraprofessionals. In the spring of 1967, a survey of 231 paraprofessionals found that 54 percent were in the elementary grades, 94 percent were female, and they had a median age of 37.5.[51] In these characteristics, the paraprofessionals in this school system were similar to those across the nation. In order to test the effectiveness of paraprofessional performance on pupil learning, a study was conducted during early 1968. Nine kindergarten classes, each with about thirty pupils, half of whom were Black, were selected. Three classes had no aides, three had one aide, and three had five aides. All classes were given the Metropolitan Reading Readiness Test, Form R, in January and then again in May. The results showing unweighted means, pretest, posttest, and gains are shown in Table 7.

50. William S. Bennett, Jr. and R. Frank Falk, New Careers and Urban Schools (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1970); Patricia Larson, "Discussions with New Careerists;" Patricia Larson, Nancye Belding, and R. Frank Falk, "A Critique of Agencies in the Minneapolis New Careers Program;" Patricia Larson et al., "A Functional Model for the Use of Paraprofessional Personnel"; Patricia Larson, Mary Bible, R. Frank Falk, "Down the Up Staircase: A Study of New Careers Dropouts"; Margaret A. Thompson, "Contamination of New Careerists by Professionalization: Fact or Fancy?" and Margaret A. Thompson et al., "Job Interests and Job Satisfactions of New Careerists" (Minneapolis: New Careers Research, University of Minnesota, 1969, 1968, 1968, 1969, 1969, and 1969, respectively); Margaret A. Thompson, "The Minneapolis New Careers Program: A Follow-up Study" (Minneapolis: Office of Career Development, University of Minnesota, 1971); Alan Sweet "A Decade of Paraprofessional Programs in the Minneapolis Public Schools", in Gartner et al., op cit.

51. Bennett and Falk, op cit., p. 175.

Table 7

Pupil Performance Related to Number of Aides, Minneapolis, 1968

	0 Aides (n=75)	1 Aide (n=79)	5 Aides (n=80)
Reading Readiness			
Pretest	41.8	38.2	40.7
Posttest	47.4	47.8	48.8
Gain	5.6	9.6	8.1
Number Readiness			
Pretest	8.2	8.1	8.4
Posttest	11.6	12.1	12.7
Gain	3.4	4.0	4.3
Total Readiness			
Pretest	53.5	49.7	52.8
Posttest	63.9	64.9	66.6
Gain	10.4	15.2	13.8

Source: William S. Bennett, Jr., and R. Frank Falk, New Careers and Urban Schools (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1970), p. 125.

Those classes with one aide made a 50 percent greater total gain than did those with no aide, or in terms of percentage gain over pretest, those with one aide gained 30 percent as compared with a 19 percent gain for those with no aide. On both total gain and percentage gain over pretest, those classes with five aides did better than those with no aide but not as

well as those with one aide. The authors suggest that a reason for the lesser gain of those with five aides as compared to those with one might lie in the management problems presented with such a large number of adults in the classroom.[52]

A study of paraprofessional programs in rural Kentucky compared classes with paraprofessionals present in the classroom for different numbers of hours per day.[53] Paraprofessionals in the Model School, which had 235 children, worked 4 hours per day; those in 5 other schools, with a total of 1,061 children, worked 1.5 hours per day. While the desire of pupils to ask questions was about the same in the two sets of schools, the children in the Model School felt they could ask more questions. Also, paraprofessionals gave opportunity for more activities enjoyed by the children.[54]

While the foregoing programs considered only the paraprofessionals' indigeneity as a special qualification, an Arlington, Massachusetts, program was concerned with the special effect of males on elementary-age children. Project Male, begun in 1967, involved part-time volunteers in kindergarten through third grade in three elementary schools; during

52. Ibid.
53. Milan B. Dady, Directors' Report: Institute for Support Personnel (Morehead, Ky.: Morehead State University, 1970).
54. Ibid.

the first 3 years of the project, 1,012 children were served. The project took as its starting point the fact that some 80 percent to 90 percent of all primary children who had social or academic difficulty were boys.[55] It was found, on tests of psychological development as well as academic achievement, that boys who were in male-aided classes did better than those in female-aided classes or those with no paraprofessionals.

> Significantly greater improvement in scores from fall to spring on the Evanston Drawing Test of Emotional and Academic Achievement was found for 247 kindergarten boys in male-aided classes than for boys in control groups. Improvement was also greater for girls in the male-aided classes, although not as great as for boys.
>
> More significant and positive attitudes toward school and work activities were found in boys who were in male-aided classes as opposed to those in female-or nonaided classes.
>
> The number of boys performing at or above grade level was significantly greater in male-aided classes than in the female- or nonaided classes. The degree of imporvement increased in the second and third year of the program.[56]

The studies discussed above described paraprofessionals working as generalists in the classroom. The following studies reported on them performing specialized tasks. The middle schools of Hammond, Indiana, used paraprofessionals in

55. Timothy Wilson, "To the School Committee: Evaluative Report on Project Male" (Arlington, Mass: Memorandum to the Public Schools, June, 1970), p. 1.
56. Ibid., pp. 1-2.

a corrective reading program. Between 1967 and 1970, they conducted "a study in the use of paraprofessional personnel in intensive corrective reading instruction."[57] The referral criteria for pupils to the program was an IQ of 90 or above and a reading level at least a year below grade. In fact, for the 832 pupils in the program over the three years, IQ ranged from 75 to 126, and students were from one to five years below grade in reading. About 60 percent of the pupils were boys, 25 percent from disadvantaged families, and they were about equally divided among the sixth, seventh, and eighth grades.

There were 22 paraprofessionals, 10 of whom had children with academic difficulties. The children received approximately an hour per week of instruction from the paraprofessionals. The performance of the children helped by the paraprofessionals was compared with a matched control group. Table 8 presents the gains over a school term of the experimental (with paraprofessionals) and control (without paraprofessionals) pupils; a weighted reading score developed by the program is used.

57. Utilization of Paraprofessional Personnel in Intensive Remedial Reading, End of Project Report (Hammond, Ind.: The School City of Hammond, 1970).

Table 8

Pupil Performance in a Tutoring Program, 1967-70

	Gain	Difference	Gain Above Normal
Grade 6			
Experimental	+14	+4	+4
Control	+10		
Grade 7			
Experimental	+12	+5	+2
Control	+ 7		
Grade 8			
Experimental	+18	+6	+8
Control	+12		

Source: Utilization of Paraprofessional Personnel in Intensive Remedial Reading, End of Project Report (Hammond, Ind.: City of Hammond Schools, 1970), p. 47.

The project director summarized the data presented in Table 8 as follows:

> On the basis of the comparison of experimental and control subjects and average growth scores with the norm of expectation, it can be stated that paraprofessionals can be used effectively in providing remedial reading instruction at the middle school level.[58]

Much this same model was used in some fifty other communities in twelve Middle-West states. The paraprofessionals were given twenty-one hours of programed instruction in tutoring

58. Ibid., p. 47.

and they worked with the children about an hour a week. A significantly greater proportion of the tutored children progressed normally, that is, advanced from the second grade to third grade, than did those in the control group (59% and 41%, respectively). And those receiving tutoring were 59 percent less likely to need to be assigned to a special education class than were those in the control group.[59]

A tutorial program for children with serious reading retardation showed gains for both the children and their paraprofessional tutors. In that program, 15 paraprofessionals worked in 4 Brooklyn ghetto schools. They tutored 105 children two to four times a week. Three of the paraprofessionals had no high schopl diploma, and as a group, their reading level ranged from third to twelfth grade.

> Final evaluation of the program showed behavioral and reading improvement among most of the 105 children. Tutors gained in reading level, in insight into the school as a social system, in sensitivity in child development and management and in teaching methodology.[60]

Children of bilingual and bicultural backgrounds often suffer severe handicaps in school related experiences - reading being no exception. One such group of children, children of

59. Programmed Tutoring Follow-up, (Muncie: The Reading Center, School of Education, University of Indiana, 1969).
60. Lillian Pope, "Blueprint for a Successful Paraprofessional Tutorial Program," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry. XL, 2 (March, 1970). pp. 299-300.

migrant workers, were the target for a California program, funded through the Migrant Amendment of Title I, ESEA, and established during the 1971-72 school year to improve the reading performance of intermediate grade migrant children. The program's major intervention strategy was the utilization of indigenous paraprofessionals as reading tutors in 34 schools located in San Joaquin Valley.

Eighty students (Grades 5 and 6) who scored two or more years below grade level as determined by grade equivalent scores on the pretest of the Comprehensive Test of Basic Skills, were selected to receive tutoring and participate in a study which investigated the impact of the program; thirty-five paraprofessionals, 34 females and one male, functioned as tutors. Most tutors were Spanish-speaking, high school graduates, married and parents of children who attended schools where they were employed. A few tutors attended local community colleges for a year or two, but none were college graduates.

The tutors were employed for a period of three to seven hours a day in which they rendered daily instruction aid to individual and small groups of students. In preparation, tutors received sixty hours of pre and in-service training in areas of reading and language development, skill reinforcement,

techniques and materials, test administration, and word recognition. Participating resource teachers were responsible for training delivery.

Classroom teachers supervised the tutors while resource teachers kept track of the amount of tutorial assistance received by each student. Once a week each tutor was required to submit to the resource teacher a performance record for each tutee.

At the end of the school year, when compared with a comparable control group who did not receive paraprofessional assistance, it was found that the majority of tutored students showed greater reading gains as indicated by the posttest of the Comprehensive Test of Basic Skills.[61]

The largest paraprofessional program is that in New York City. A 1971 study examined paraprofessional influence on student achievement and attitudes. Based upon pretest and posttest pupil achievement results and posttest scores from two attitude inventories, the study concluded that paraprofessionals significantly improve student achievement in reading and arithmetic; however, their effect on student attitudes is uncertain.[62]

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61. Lelia Veaco, "The Effect of Paraprofessional Assistance on the Academic Achievement of Migrant Children," Doctoral Dissertation, University of the Pacific, Fresno, California; December 1973. p. 122.

62. Henry M. Brickell et al., Paraprofessional Influence on Student Achievement and Attitudes Outside the Classroom in District Decentralized ESEA Title I and New York State Urban Education Projects in New York City Schools (New York: Institute for Educational Development, 1971).

Each of the reports cited above involved paraprofessionals working directly with students. The following two studies, one in Florida and the other in New York City, involved indigenous paraprofessionals who trained poverty-family mothers; they in turn worked with their own children. Fifteen "disadvantaged" women worked with nearly 300 mothers and their children in a program at the College of Education, University of Florida. The "parent educators" instructed the mothers in a series of exercises designed to provide physical, intellectual, and social stimulation for children from the age of three months through two years. As measured by the Griffiths Mental Development Scale, the children whose mothers were trained by the paraprofessionals did better on all scales - locomotor, personal-social, hearing and speech, eye and hand, and general performance-than did those in a matched control group whose parents did not receive this training. And a New York City program, Supplementary Teaching in Advanced Reading (STAR), used paraprofessionals to train parents to read to their children. Studies done on the youngsters, first-grade pupils from predominantly Puerto Rican families whose teachers identified them as likely reading failures, found that the children whose parents were trained by paraprofessionals one

hour per week to read to them scored higher in nine different reading tests than did matched children who received two hours of remediation from professionals or a control group.[63]

As with the STAR program, reading was the criterion in an OEO-sponsored study of the Adult Basic Education program (ABE). So, too, the performance of paraprofessionals was compared to that of professionals. The purpose of the study was to find the most effective ABE system, and the findings on teacher performance were an incidental byproduct of the main study. It was found, regardless of the ABE system used, that the indigenous paraprofessionals (high school graduates or less) were more effective in terms of participant reading scores than either a certified remedial education teacher or a college graduate.[64]

One of the earliest studies dealing with the efficacy of utilizing teacher assistants in special education programs was by Cruickshank and Haring. The study concerned itself with the selection, training, and use of assistants to serve in classes which were involved in educating exceptional children for one academic year. Teacher assistants were placed in three types of educational situations in which exceptional children were being educated: (1) special classrooms;

63. Alan Gartner, Do Paraprofessionals Improve Human Services? A First Critical Appraisal of the Data (New York: New Careers Development Center, New York University, 1969), p. 18.
64. "Field Test and Evaluation of Selected Adult Basic Education Systems" (New York: Greenleigh Associates, Inc., 1966).

(2) regular classrooms; and (3) itinerant teacher services. Two assistants were assigned to the speech and hearing department of the school system's itinerant program. In total, teacher assistants were placed in fourteen educational settings. The importance of general orientation to inspire cooperation, present the limitations of the assistant role, and organize suitable teams of teachers and assistants were stressed. At the end of the year, the evaluations and comments of the nineteen teachers who worked with an assistant were all favorable. The authors concluded that:

> ....youngsters benefitted greatly from the program through the additional teacher planning, increased availability of materials, and greater number of classroom activities made possible by the presence of a Teacher Assistant.[65]

Further,

> ...in the face of the increasing pupil ratio currently being evidenced throughout the United States, the utilization of the Teacher Assistant plan may be the only basis upon which integration can be realistically effected.[66]

Although this study recognized the positive use of paraprofessionals, its results were based on highly subjective evaluative data. The lack of good research design, the absence of comparison classes, and the small samplings were each serious limitations of the study.

65. W. Cruickshank and N. Haring, Assistants for Teachers of Exceptional Children (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1957), p. 40.
66. Ibid., p. 42.

Blessing and Cook undertook a three-year investigation in the Milwaukee public schools to study the effects of class size and the use of teacher aides on pupil behavior in primary and intermediate educable mentally retarded classes. The project employed 17 aides with 20 classes. Educational, linguistic, and social behavior measures were used to determine the effects on pupil behavior. The analysis of the data led the authors to conclude the following:

> The major impact of the aides alone (i.e., without regard to other conditions such as size of class, age level of children, etc.) appeared to be, first, a reduction in undesirable behavior in the classroom, and second, enhancement of the spelling achievement of the pupils.[67]

67. K. Blessing and J. Cook, Class Size and Teacher Aides as Factors in the Achievement of the Educable Mental Retarded, Final Report, Bureau for the Education of the Handicapped, August, 1970.

Paraprofessionals and Teachers

While the impact of paraprofessionals would appear to be greatest in their direct effect on pupils, particularly given the special qualities of the indigenous worker, their role in freeing the teachers' time is important to consider in that it is what most paraprofessionals are employed to do, and for the effect they have on the teachers' activities.

The Minneapolis study described earlier asked teachers how much paraprofessionals freed them to do planning and preparation and to work directly with pupils. To the question on time for planning and preparation, the teachers' responses ranged from zero to thirty hours per week, with a median of fourteen hours per week. As to time saved for working directly with pupils, the answers ranged from zero to twenty hours, with a median of three hours.[69] Thus, combining the two medians, the use of paraprofessionals in the Minneapolis project saved teachers approximately seventeen hours a week. Similar findings have been reported from numerous programs. For example, a study of Wisconsin programs reported that 86 percent of the teachers with paraprofessionals were able to devote significantly more time to individual pupils as a result of their presence, and 88 percent of the teachers felt that the climate for learning had been significantly improved through the services of a paraprofessional.[70]

69. Bennett and Falk, op cit., pp. 179-80.
70. Ferver and Cook, op cit., pp. 62-63.

A study on the North Carolina Comprehensive School Improvement Project first noted the time saved for teachers as a result of the paraprofessionals' work and went on to state the following:

> Teacher time is increasingly redirected toward the central goal of instructional improvement in that (a) more time is spent in giving pupils individual and small group attention; (b) more time is devoted to cooperative planning of learning opportunities for pupils; and (c) more attention is devoted to the pupil's personal-social needs.[71]

The most elaborate study of teacher time as a consequence of the employment of paraprofessionals was conducted at the Portland (Oregon) public schools.[72]

> The study results indicate paraprofessionals actually performed more instruction during the day than did the teachers who worked with them. Furthermore, the average amount of daily time paraprofessionals expended in instruction was also more than that of teachers who worked in conventional class arrangements. Paraprofessionals worked in instruction an average 128 minutes daily. The average daily figures for teachers who worked with and without paraprofessionals were 109 and 92 minutes, respectively. The assistants who were employed so that professional teachers might specialize and teach more, in fact, worked more like instructional specialists![73]

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71. Frank C. Emerling and Kanawha Z. Chavis, "The Teacher Aide," Educational Leadership, XXIV, 2 (November, 1966), p. 177.
72. Eaton H. Conant, Teacher and Paraprofessional Work Productivity: A Public School Cost Effectiveness Study (Lexington, Massachusetts: Lexington Books, 1973).
73. Ibid., p. 56.

Conant's explanation for this surprising finding is that while teachers, in being assigned paraprofessionals, were instructed to use them to increase instruction, nothing was done to alter or change the teacher's traditional work role or responsibility.

> Paraprofessionals taught more, and teachers taught less, because teachers retained their traditional work patterns for housekeeping, child behavior monitoring, and other routine work, while paraprofessionals functioned in classes to specialize as remedial teachers during class hours.[74]

Given the greater percentage of instructional activity engaged in by the paraprofessionals, and their lower salaries, it is not surprising that Conant finds that "the hourly costs of instruction are considerably lower for the teacher-paraprofessional team in comparison to the single teacher. This is true for both IN [classwide instruction] and IN_2 [individual-small group instruction]."[75]

As we have noted, these findings are based upon a study in one school system, and have not been replicated. However, they are sufficiently compelling as to merit attention in the consideration of the deployment of paraprofessionals, especially in light of the earlier adduced data as to the effect of paraprofessionals upon children's learning; Conant, too, supports these findings.[76]

74. Ibid.
75. Ibid., p. 77.
76. Ibid., chapter 8.

In a study of fifteen paraprofessional programs done a decade ago, a Bank Street College team said that the introduction of paraprofessionals served as a catalytic force in the development of new roles for all parties in the school.[77] While Conant's study suggests, at least in Portland, that such changes have not yet occured, nonetheless, the potential benefits, which the Bank Street team cited in an earlier study, still merit attention.

1. To the Pupil, by providing more individualized attention by concerned adults, more mobility in the classroom, and more opportunity for innovation;

2. To the teacher, by rendering his (sic) role more satisfying in terms of status, and more manageable in terms of teaching conditions;

3. To the other professionals, by increasing the scope and effectiveness of their activities;

4. To the auxiliary, by providing meaningful employment which contributes at one and the same time to his (sic) development and to needs of society;

5. To the school administrator, by providing some answers to his (sic) dilemma of ever increasing needs for school

77. Garda W. Bowman and Gordon J. Klopf, New Careers and Roles in the American School: A Study of Auxiliary Personnel in Education (New York: Bank Street College of Education, 1968).

services, coupled with a shortage of professionals to meet these needs -- a solution, not the solution, and certainly not a panacea;

6. To family life, by giving auxiliaries, many of whom may someday become parents, the opportunity to learn child development principles in a reality situation;

7. To the community at large, by providing a means through which unemployed and educationally disadvantaged persons may enter the mainstream of productivity.[78]

78. Garda W. Bowman and Gordon J. Klopf, Auxiliary School Personnel: Their Roles, Training, and Institutionalization (New York: Bank Street College of Education), p. 5.

The Career Opportunities Program: A Case Study[79]

From its inception in 1969 as the largest new program originating from the authority of the Education Professions Development Act (EPDA) of June 1967, the Career Opportunities Program (COP) was conceived as a means for addressing such central educational issues as:

- -- strengthening the self and group identity of the children of the poor, the minorities, and the alienated;
- -- using training programs as an instrument of and catalyst for educational change;
- -- bringing new and different persons into the schools to play new and different roles; and
- -- developing relations of equality (parity) among participants, school, communities being served, and colleges.

The centerpiece of COP was the paraprofessional teacher aide, who was usually a minority (54 percent Black, 14.3 percent Hispanic-American, 3.7 percent Native American) female (88 percent) and came from the neighborhood in which (s)he worked. This COP participant was destined, through COP, to receive college-based training which would qualify her/him for a teaching certificate as an ultimate objective and, in any case, improved performance and credentials as

79. This section is based upon the authors deep involvement with the Career Opportunities Program, as well as W. Thomas Carter, "The Career Opportunities Program: A Summing Up," COP Bulletin, III, 8(1976); Crist Costa, et al., A Comparative Study Career Opportunities Program Graduates as First Year Teachers (New York: New Careers Training Laboratory, Queens College, 1975); George Kaplan, From Aide to Teacher: The Story of the Career Opportunities Program (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1977); "Paraprofessionals + Career Opportunities = Quality Education for Children," Journal of Research and Development in Education, V,2(Winter, 1972).

an aide. The total cost for the seven-year COP effort, of which five years represented local project activity, was approximately $130,000,000. The program embraced 132 sites, roughly 18,000 participants, close to 3,000 schools, 272 colleges and universities, in 48 states.

The COP design was relatively uncomplicated. It was a program of the U.S. Office of Education, which made grants to local school systems (with the concurrence of the respective state departments of education) which employed paraprofessionals in schools serving low-income children. The participants, through training and education, would mount a career ladder, earn a baccalaureate degree, and become eligible for a teacher's license. The training was provided in the schools by cooperating teachers, supervisory personnel, and Career Opportunities Program project staff, while the formal education was provided by a local college or university through a subcontract from the local COP project. With increased experience, training, and education, participants were expected both to become better teacher aides, and, in most cases, to assume greater responsibility and status in the school system. At the end of the program and with a degree and a teacher's license having been earned, a process that usually took four to six years for a person beginning with no previouw college experience, the participant was available for employment as a full-fledged teacher.

The employment of paraprofessionals in schools had preceded the Career Opportunities Program, and, during its existence extended far beyond it; during the early 1970's the Career Opportunities Program participants accounted for fewer than five percent of the paraprofessionals in all schools. What was unique about the Career Opportunities Program in this regard was the fact that from their entry into the Career Opportunities Program, participants were engaged in activities directly related to pupil learning (and not shunted off to clerical or monitoring roles), and that the COP design was not a static staff differentiation model. Rather, individual participants were involved in a career development design moving from entry-level paraprofessional positions to licensed teachers. And as the Career Opportunities Program emphasized the utilization of paraprofessionals in roles of substantial involvement in the teaching/learning process, it, of necessity (as well as plan), affected the activities of the teachers in the classrooms. And the net results of both these sets of activities was increased individualization of instruction for children.

The COP Paraprofessional

The COP Project Directors Handbook described potential COP participants as "individuals who have the ability and desire to spend a significant part of their working careers

in providing better education for children of low-income families," as residents of the area served by the COP schools, and as persons of "low-income background." These qualifications were met with only limited exceptions and deviations. Left unstated in the Handbook was the implicit understanding that "low-income" meant "minority" and that the goals of the program were thus social and economic as well as educational.

Near the midway point in COP's history, a national survey revealed that 13,477 persons had participated in the program and 9,343 were then enrolled as full-fledged trainees. Over 86 percent were low-income family heads or members, 63 percent were recruited from various other governmental programs, and 13 percent (this figure dwindled thereafter) were veterans of Vietnam-era military service. More than three-fourths of the trainees were non-white (54 percent Black, 14.3 Hispanic, 3.7 Native American, with the remainder scattered among Asian and others). Although the average participant was probably 31 or 32, COP also included teenagers and grandparents well into their sixties.

Illustrations of the achievements of COP's participants are the best demonstration of the strengths inherent in the enormous diversity of background and interests they brought to the program.

-- The cumulative grade point average of the Saginaw, Michigan, aides was significantly higher than that of the student bodies of Delta and Saginaw Valley College as a whole.
-- Twenty-seven percent of the participants in the Little Rock, Arkansas, project graduated with honors.
-- COP participants, according to a survey of the California COP effort, "could often bring a welcome dose of their real world experience to cloistered education courses taught by faculty who sometimes had not been in an elementary school classroom for years."
-- Roberta Ellis of COP Minneapolis, in her mid-forties, a divorced mother, was a country club kitchen worker from 5:00 P.M. to 6:00 A.M., took care of six to seven children plus several of her own in her home during the day, and somehow found time to teach Sunday school. Determined to become a teacher, she entered the Minneapolis New Careers program as a school aide and assumed a 19-21 credit quarterly load at the University of Minnesota. In August 1972, with five months of hospitalization from an automobile accident behind her, she graduated from the university and became a regular fifth grade teacher. Shortly thereafter, Ms. Ellis enrolled as a candidate for a graduate degree, one of countless COP graduates who kept on learning long after their COP phase had ended.
-- The average COP participant in the Gary, Indiana, COP project had been away from formal education for 25 years. And yet, in one year (1971-72), 43 COP aides were invited to join a national academic sorority. Since then, 60 Gary COP participants qualified for the Dean's list at the Purdue University Calumet Campus.
-- Prior to his participation in COP, Eugene Witlock, a veteran in the Louisville COP project, had been denied admission to a state college. As part of COP, he graduated from

the University of Louisville while on the Dean's list and went on as a district employee to co-author a proposal for the evaluation of COP and alone designed a paraprofessional training institute in special education.

Not knowing it was improper, Gloria Enoex combined her attendance at one college as part of COP with simultaneous attendance in another, all this while working as a paraprofessional in the Grand Rapids, Michigan, schools. Having thus earned her BA in two-and-a-half years, Ms. Enoex, a mother of eight, went on to gain an MA as a reading specialist in six months. One of Ms. Enoex's tactics, enabling her to do her school work and keep up with her family, was to have one of the children read to Her as she cooked dinner.

-- Danny Gurule organized the recording of a disc featuring New Mexico's Lieutenant Governor and Gurule's students at Cristo Rey school in Santa Fe. The recording was done to raise money for a new school bus. Gurule completed his work at Santa Fe College and, unlike his fellow COP participants who will teach in the city's schools, he will become the Assistant Director of the College's Bilingual/Bicultural Studies Program. Already recognized with a listing in "Who's Who in American Colleges and Universities," Gurule is arranging with a publisher for use of bilingual materials he developed while in COP.

-- Mrs. Ruth Winney, a Navajo Indian in her fifties, began her formal education as a seven-year-old at a boarding school in Fort Defiance, Arizona, spent the rest of her childhood and early youth in schools away from home, and with a high school diploma to her credit, became an assistant in a Bureau of Indian Affairs School. The job could lead nowhere. College credits were unavailable, and the closest college was over 200 miles away. Then came the new Navajo Community College and COP, and Mrs. Winney was on her way.

-- In Baltimore, Maryland, 93 percent of the COP graduates held teaching posts in the city system by September 1975.
-- From the age of nine, Richard Gatica of Crystal City, Texas, spent at least half of every year as a migrant worker in the North. He left school after the eighth grade. In the Army, Gatica received a high school equivalency degree (GED) and, after discharge, held several jobs while amassing two years of post-secondary credits. An outstanding student in his COP years at Southwest Texas Junior College in Uvalde and Texas A&I in Laredo, he graduated early and assumed a bilingual teaching post in 1972. In 1974 Gatica was selected to be director of the same COP program which had given him his professional start.

The Effects of COP on the Schools

Images of COP in the schools are as varied as images of the 132 separate COP projects. As long as the basic conditions were met, the COP formula was flexible, with weighting of the mix left largely to the discretion of site administration.

Training of COP aides represented a thoughful blend of intellectual experiences and practical applications.

Whether or not they had previously done it, teacher training institutions came to the community with site-based courses, on-site observation, and active participation in advisory councils -- all adding up to an attempt by higher education to become part of a rapidly changing scene rather than an observer, advisor, or chronicler.

> The place of the educational paraprofessional in the schools was sanctioned and legitimatized through carefully constructed opportunities for rewarding careers, satisfying work, and the possibility of achieving higher professional status.
>
> Children in the COP schools were taught, more by example than from books, that being American Indian or Chicano or Puerto Rican or Cajun or Oriental or Black or hill country white was a source of pride and that these cultures should be nourished, not suppressed or discarded.

These were some of the main messages COP left in some school systems. Some of the concrete results stem from the messages, while others are nearly independent of them. Some outcomes, like those described below, were direct results of the availability and ability of the paraprofessionals and of the Career Opportunities Program.

-- In Honolulu, 19 COP participants worked as teacher assistants at Honolulu Community College. They worked in the reading and audio-visual laboratories, at the computer science center, in the chemistry and biology laboratories, in student services, and in the art, electronics, and industrial arts departments. These were not, of course, "normal" sites for paraprofessional activity.
-- In Minneapolis, COP participants managed an Indian Student Aide Program, while in Detroit, COP participants conducted a Youth Tutoring Youth Project involving 70 tutors and 280 tutees.
-- In Las Cruces, New Mexico, new relationships developed between school and community, largely through COP and through inter-institutional linkages in which COP played a prominent role.
-- At the start of the COP project in Jacksonville, Florida, the district employed 140 teacher aides. By 1974, there were 654, half supported by local funds. The example of the performance by the COP aides was a significant factor in the increase. At the initiation of COP, only the COP aides were on the career lattice; all 654 aides later joined.

-- As a result of the COP model, all paraprofessionals employed in the Trenton, (N.J.) schools have improved salary schedules, pensions, sick leave, health insurance, and a career lattice -- a process which became the standard in most of the school systems in which COP functioned.
-- Based upon the successful experience with COP, a district-wide School Development Center for all levels of personnel was established in Lewiston, Maine, by the school district, the University of Maine, and the state department of education. This innovation survived the end of funding.
-- In addition to program activities, the Alaska COP projects provided services to children and the community, which included a preschool in Nondalton, a photography course in Togiak, a sports program in Tanana, a library in Nulato, translators in Bethel ABE classes in Noorvik and Angoon, health services in Fort Yukon, and a Youth Tutoring Youth Program in Metlakatla.
-- At Mckinleyville (California) High School, the Humboldt State University COP project discovered that 100, rather than the expected handful of Indian students were enrolled. Perceiving that many were actual or potential dropouts, the project conceived and instituted the Indian Student Retention Program.
-- The creation of career lattices, an important COP objective, in the five cooperating school districts of the Bay Area Bilingual Education League (BABEL) COP project in California meant that paraprofessionals would receive training in bilingual (Spanish, Chinese, or Philipino) education, a policy that greatly facilitated the addition of bilingual classes to school curricula.

Analyzing the impact of COP's four Pennsylvania projects (Smethport, Scranton, Erie, Philadelphia) on local school systems, the independent Educational Research Associates of

Bowie, Maryland, judged that "the schools were affected in a positive way." The specific efforts were:

- -- the greatly increased use of teacher aides,
- -- a significant change in the way they were used,
- -- the beneficial impact of aides on the environment (specifically, in the case of Erie with a history of racial tension and violence, the reduction and ultimate disappearance of the distrubances that had plagued one location),
- -- an increased leadership role for teachers,
- -- increased opportunities for minority administrators,
- -- growing dependence on local neighborhoods as a source of new teachers, and
- -- a general acknowledgement that the COP-trained teachers would be more effective than others who had entered the various systems.

The COP Graduate as Teacher

The COP program based at the University of North Dakota, with participants from four Indian reservation communities, provided college degrees and teacher certification for 51 new teachers of American Indian origin. Virtually all returned to their communities as full-fledged teachers, thereby creating or improving those conditions:

- -- better relations between children and their schools,
- -- a probable slowdown in the rate of teacher turnover,
- -- teachers thoroughly attuned to and identified with the children and their problems,
- -- community pride in Indian-related attitudes, and, far from least,
- -- proof that schools with Indian children could thrive with significantly larger percentages of Indian teachers.

Of 142 degree-earning COP participants in the Chicago project, 118 became teachers in "target area" schools, that is, in schools populated by children of low-income, minority (Black and Hispanic-American) background. In Hartford, Connecticut, virtually all graduating COP aides received regular teaching posts, even in the face of a marked surplus of teachers, while 12 of the Worcester, Massachusetts project's 15 1974 graduates landed teaching positions. Of the graduates of the eight projects in Nebraska, Missouri, Iowa and Kansas, 98 percent were employed, with 44 percent of them obtaining jobs in project school districts, another nine percent in other schools, and 28 percent continuing their studies in graduate school. Typical of this region was the situation in urban Des Moines, where 28 of 39 graduates were placed as teachers in the city's schools (and two more outside the district). In Idaho, where a small but widely dispersed COP project produced 29 graduates, two-thirds became teachers in the schools the first year they were certified, and every member of the first COP graduating class in Kansas City was hired by the school system.

In July 1974, the New Careers Training Laboratory undertook an evaluation study of COP with the purpose of focusing on COP graduates serving as first-year teachers within local

school districts. While each district having a COP project was responsible for an ongoing evaluation of its project, none were responsible for the evaluation of the graduate as a teacher. This resultant study, then, was the first to look at this pivotally important aspect of the Career Opportunities Program -- the graduate as teacher.

Data were collected along three axes: the person, the process, the product. A variety of instruments along each of these axes was used to obtain a multifaceted picture of the two teacher cohorts, the COP-trained and the Non-COP trained. In effect, a "Rashomon" picture was sought.

The Findings

Axis 1 = The Person

The COP-trained teachers were older, more likely to be Black, and slightly more likely to be males as compared with the Non-COP trained. (For COP and Non-COP, respectively, the mean age was 35 and 26, 52% and 26% were Black, and 75% of the COP teachers were female, as were 80% of the Non-COP). The two groups did about as well in college, as measured by grades, although the COP-trained group expressed greater satisfaction with its college program, And a higher percentage of COP-trained teachers had enrolled and planned to enroll in post-baccalaureate education.

The COP-trained teachers had more positive attitudes as expressed on all eight scales of the Gordon Personal Inventory and Personal Profile, as well as the Minnesota Teacher Attitude Inventory. The differences were significant statistically on the Gordon scales for Original Thinking, Vigor, Ascendancy, and Sociability.

Axis 2 - The Process

On both measures of classroom activity used in this study, the COP-trained teachers performed in a more desirable manner. In their classrooms, there was more interchange between teacher and student and the students' talk was more responsive and extended. The interaction which more frequently characterized the classrooms of the COP graduates was, according to the pertinent research, more highly correlated with positive student performance. Principals who supervised the two groups of teachers favored the COP-trained teachers in comparison with other first-year teachers they had supervised.

Axis 3 - The Product

The children in the classrooms of the COP-trained teachers had a more positive self-concept, and their parents ranked their attitudes toward school more positively than did parents

of children in the classrooms of the Non-COP trained teachers. Although comprehensive achievement test data were not obtainable, achievement test data in which there were differences favored the children in the classrooms of the COP-trained teachers. Finally, the data regarding tardiness and disciplinary referrals were more positive for the children in the classrooms of the COP-trained teachers, while attendance data favored the Non-COP trained teachers.

The Meaning

The study found a series of consistent, although often small, more positive scores by the COP-trained teachers, as compared with the matched Non-COP trained teachers in the same schools. The COP-trained teachers possessed a more favorable set of attitudes. In the classrooms, they demonstrated behaviors considered to be the more desirable ones for children's learning. Their supervisors ranked them higher. The children in their classrooms thought better of themselves and, with the exception of the score on one subscale, the children's parents believe those in the classrooms of the COP-trained teachers had better attitudes. And what slight differences there were in achievement test scores favored the COP-trained teachers' students.

It is not only this consistent set of findings but their pattern which merits attention. In comparing the classrooms of the COP-trained teachers with those of the Non-COP trained, the investigators found two different teaching styles and two different student response patterns. The Non-COP trained teachers engaged in more teacher-initiated interaction -- lecturing and questions and short answer dialogue -- while the COP-trained teachers interacted more directly with their students, elicited more and longer responses from the students, and responded more to students' comments when they arose. This more accepting and encouraging classroom behavior conduces toward more student verbal initiative, fuller responses, and more sustained interchanges. According to the pertinent research, these characteristics of classroom interaction are more desirable and correlate more hightly with better student performance. The NCTL findings indicate this to be the case based on an assessment of the students' self-concept, parents' assessment of their attitudes, and their achievement.

These finding as to the success of the COP mode of teacher training were reinforced a year later. A follow-up study at the same 15 sites along Axis 1 (the person) revealed that

COP-trained second year teachers were more aware than their peers of the "ethos" of the schools. Although the Non-COP group was learning much about the quality and pace of school life, the COP teachers were appreciably ahead, and the gap was widening. There were also continuing pro-COP differences on pupil orientation. The COP teachers tended to be more accepting of individual differences among pupils and felt a greater sense of responsibility and accountability for the pupil's progress. The Non-COP trained group tended in general to ascribe success or failure to the attitude of the pupil and failure of disciplinary action.

The follow-up assessment included two additional sites: the bilingual COP projects in Crystal City and Port Isabel, Texas. The findings in both cases paralleled those of the earlier study but with even greater differences between COP and Non-COP trained teachers, notably in the areas of two-way exchanges between pupils and teachers. Even more significant were indications that, even though the Non-COP trained teachers at these two sites were as good as the COP teachers at the 15 "regular" sites, the COP ones were even better. These higher standards were attributed to the unique qualities of bilingual education.

While retaining the evaluative processes used in the first year, the second year of the NCTL examination of COP products as teachers employed a new instrument to examine a broad panorama of school/teacher/pupil data at the 17 sites. It was discovered that Non-COP teachers were readier to shift schools, to another community or even state, after one year of teaching, while the COP group remained committed to their communities even though their new professional status made moving more possible than it had been. Too, the COP teachers were more inclined to (1) stay in the classroom rather than move on to allied pursuits, (2) complete a graduate degree during the next few years, and (3) retain their enthusiasm for teaching.

The second-year COP teacher, while primarily concerned with the teaching function, tended to view the school as a system and to be interested in such matters as organization, morale, teacher competence, and committee membership. By the second year, her or his Non-COP peers were more concerned with such day-to-day matters as class size, modes of supervision and rules and procedures.

Subtle but important differences characterized the two groups in other areas. Both believed themselves to be competent teachers, with the Non-COP teacher emphasizing an

ability to sensitize pupils to be sensitive to other pupils, to show respect and to understand the home backgrounds of different types of pupils. The second-year COP graduate, on the other hand, stressed competence in obtaining the cooperation of pupils, consistency in disciplinary approaches, and the capacity to interpret effectively to the pupil in a manner designed to obtain the pupil's understanding. The study further revealed that the groups simply had different attitudes toward children and their behavior. The COP teacher, as a rule, tended to be understanding; the peer group, on the whole, was demanding.

Finally, the COP teacher shows stronger signs of believing that, once absorbed into the local school, (s)he will be able to exert a constructive effect for needed change there. Although by no means a radical force within the school, the COP product believes that such opportunities -- including those relating to work conditions, job security and collective bargaining -- do exist and that they can and should be taken.

Issues

This survey has sought to present a summary of the present condition as to the utilization of paraprofessionals in U.S. educational programs. It seems clear that paraprofessionals are now a permanent part of the school scene. Not only has there been dramatic growth in the number and range of activities in which they engage; but when personnel cutbacks have occured, while they have been cut, they have not been eliminated. For example, in New York City, between the end of the 1975 and the end of the 1976 school years, the number of teachers were reduced 15 percent, classroom paraprofessionals by 18 percent, and other paraprofessionals by 17 percent.[80] In other words, paraprofessionals were not disproportionately reduced. (Parenthetically, it is worth noting that the ratio of teachers to all paraprofessionals, in New York City schools, after the cutbacks, remained high, at 1.3 to 1.).

A part of the reason for the relative position of paraprofessionals is that many of them have been supported through special federal programs. Increasingly, however, what previously was called "soft money," in contradistinction with the "hard money" of local tax-levy funds, in the face of local

80. "Elementary and Junior High School Personnel Cuts," New York Times, June 22, 1976, p. 1.

budget crises and the increasing role of federal funding in local schools, is a distinction with a lessening difference. Thus, what is interesting is less the source of support for paraprofessionals but its fact and its continuation.

This continuation has been a function of the positive features of the paraprofessionals role, the support of community groups (especially in urban areas) for the continued presence, of paraprofessionals, and the support of teacher groups. We have noted the support of the American Personnel and Guidance Association. The two big teacher organizations, the National Education Association and the American Federation of Teachers, have both supported the utilization of paraprofessionals; the AFT gives paraprofessionals full membership, while their role in the NEA is limited.

Several of the issues concerning paraprofessionals in the coming period relates to teachers. First, there is the question as to whether in a time of pressure on the financial resources of the schools, teachers and their organizations will support or oppose continuation of paraprofessional programs. Another side of this issue in a time of fiscal constraints is suggested by Conant's findings as to the relative efficiency of various patterns of school staffing.

Second, there are a set of issues concerning the interrelationships between teachers and paraprofessionals. Clarity as to roles of each remains a question. While there seems to be a trend toward increasingly responsible activities undertaken by paraprofessionals, findings such as those of Conant reporting that the introduction of paraprofessionals does not produce increased teacher instructional activities raise serious questions as to the best use of resources. Whether the answer is placing more of the noninstructional activities upon the paraprofessional or a general lifting of the character of the work done by both teacher and paraprofessional is an open issue. As a survey of paraprofessional programs in the 1960's noted, there is an "inadequacy of current role definition for professional persons. [And] the insecurity of the supervising professional often places severe limitations upon the functioning of the subprofessionals." [Emphasis in the original.][81] There is little in the experience of the 1970's which has lessened this insecurity; indeed, the financial crisis may well have increased it.

Third, a related issue is that of preparation of teachers for working with paraprofessionals, the processes of teaming,

81. Kenneth B. Mathney and Yvonne Osten, "Utilization of Paraprofessionals in Education and the Helping Professions: A Review of the Literature," American Educational Research Association, Minneapolis, March, 1970, pp. 19-20.

as well as the functions of supervision and training; each not ones for which teachers normally are prepared.

Fourth, school districts need to continue the process of giving greater regularity to the conditions of employment of paraprofessionals.

Fifth, the combining of work as a paraprofessionals and study as a student in a career advancement program merits continuing attention. These issues are part, of course, of the broader matter of staff development and training throughout education.

* * *

The decade of the 1960's saw a large number of school "reforms", ideas and programs designed to "solve" the problems of education. Reviewing the efforts of the past decade since the passage of ESEA, Fred Hechinger, then Education Editor of the New York Times, noted that unlike the widely touted "panaceas," such as vouchers, team teaching, humanistic education, open classrooms, and the like, the paraprofessional effort came quietly, has been incorporated in the life of the schools, and remains as one of the few innovations that has "worked." In part, it may be that a part of its success is that it came without some of the noise of other efforts.

The issue, now, is whether one can build upon this beginning, whether it can become a point around which educational strategy can coalesce. In part, this means paraprofessionals engaging in more instructional activities, coming to play a role in the increasingly important learning activities outside of the school, gaining responsibility for program activities.

In summary, at the present, paraprofessionals are a part of the educational scene. This is one of the most positive carryovers of the 1960's which has continued in the 1970's. Indeed, the increasing attention being given to public service employment and full employment are in no small part an outgrowth of the paraprofessional efforts. No doubt, paraprofessionals will continue as a part of the school scene. A broader question is whether they will be more than that, whether they will be a force for affecting schooling in a substantial way, whether, in other words, they will fulfill some of the hopes of the movements founders.[82] To do so, two conditions would appear to be necessary. First, a reversal of the overall squeezing of the public sector, and, second, incorporation of the paraprofessional effort into a broader design of school reform, such as Riessman's "strength-based" approach.[83]

82. Arthur Pearl and Frank Riessman, New Careers for the Poor (New York: Free Press, 1965); Bowman and Klopf, op. cit.
83. Frank Riessman, The Inner City Child (New York: Harper and Row, 1976).

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*This is limited to books. For references to the extensive journal and ephemeral literature, see Gartner (1971) and Teacher Aides (1974).

Appendix A

Cleveland, Ohio

AIDE FUNCTIONS

Performance Level I

The educational aide functioning at this level shall do so under the direct supervision and guidance of the principal or a fully certified teacher.

Categories and Tasks

I. Clerical

A. Keep daily attendance.
B. Secure supplies and mail from office.
C. Alphabetize cards, records.
D. Assist in registering new students.

II. Instructional

A. Drill students on basic facts.
B. Provide remedial help to individual students.
C. Read to individuals and to small groups.
D. Listen to children read orally.
E. Assist students with bell work.
F. Assist teacher with arts and crafts.

III. Housekeeping

A. Clean up and straighten furniture in classroom.
B. Arrange supplies and distribute materials.
C. Clean up after games sessions.
D. Keep art materials clean and in order.
E. Take care of plants and animals.
F. Keep cupboards neat and tidy.

IV. Managerial

A. Help children with wraps.
B. Assist in breakfast and lunch program.
C. Assist with supervision of games.
D. Assist in movement and dismissal of classes.
E. Assist in homeroom and study hall.
F. Distribute books, worksheets, and workbooks.

G. Aid and participate in free play.
H. Accompany class on field trips.
I. Escort sick or injured children home or to the school nurse.
J. Aid in class management during recess and toilet periods.

V. Materials Preparation

A. Have supplies ready for each learning session.
B. Cut and prepare paper and tagboard.

VI. Community Contact

A. Take children home in emergencies.
B. Listen to and console individual children.
C. Assist teacher with home-school contacts.

VII. Audiovisual Operator

A. Aid in setup and utilization of AV equipment.
B. Secure and return equipment.

AIDE FUNCTIONS

Performance Level II

The educational aide functioning at this level shall do so under the direct supervision and guidance of the principal or a fully certified teacher. This employee will have had the benefit of one year of service plus 48 quarter hours of college training. Therefore, it is expected that s/he will perform effectively all duties attendant to the position of Educational Aide I with a minimum of supervision. Employees in this position are also expected to perform the following tasks under full supervision.

Categories and Tasks

I. Clerical

- A. Grade papers and workbooks.
- B. Record information on progress charts.
- C. File papers, cards, records.
- D. Help teacher with class register.
- E. Write tardy slips.
- F. Serve as attendance center contact.
- G. Work in main office on attendance as requested.
- H. Assist with lunch cards.
- I. Average report card grades.

II. Instructional

- A. Help students with games and puzzles.
- B. Assist in special skill subject projects.
- C. Assist students in completing assignments.
- D. Assist pupils with bell work.
- E. Help previously absent students with make-up work.
- F. Read and tell stories to small groups.
- G. Provide extensive remedial aide to individual children.

III. Housekeeping

- A. Keep chalkboards clean and lined.
- B. Decorate the classroom.

IV. Managerial

- A. Supervise children moving to and from lavatory.
- B. Supervise seatwork activities.

C. Help to keep class in order.
D. Aid teacher in proctoring tests.
E. Aid teacher with library program.
F. Suggest and organize fun-filled activities.
G. Supervise entry and exit from building.
H. Serve breakfast and lunch.
I. Supervise recess.

V. Community Contact

A. Assess home situation through visits.
B. Prepare and send notes to parents.
C. Contact parents by telephone.
D. Plan and arrange parent visits.

VI. Materials Preparation

A. Prepare and duplicate materials.
B. Make charts and rosters.
C. Serve as liaison between resource center and teacher.
D. Write lessons on chalkboard.
E. Prepare for science experiments.
F. Prepare permission slips for field trips.
G. Print materials.

VII. Audiovisual Operator

A. Have TV and radio ready for all sessions.
B. Operate equipment as a part of classroom sessions.

AIDE FUNCTIONS

Performance Level III: Educational Technologist

The educational technologist is a highly skilled school employee who has received at least two years of experience, an Associate Degree, and the benefit of prescribed inservice training. Although this employee is under the supervision and guidance of the principal, teacher, COP administration, and teacher training institution representative, s/he carries out his responsibilities with a minimum of direct supervision. It is expected that he perform effectively all tasks assigned to aide levels I and II with little direct supervision. The following duties are also to be carried out with some professional supervision.

Categories and Tasks

I. Clerical

- A. Record information on permanent record cards.
- B. Write reports regarding pupil progress and behavior.
- C. Be completely responsible for register.
- D. Type records, reports, etc.
- E. Maintain a filing system.
- F. Arrange field trips.
- G. Score standardized tests.

II. Instructional

- A. Reinforce lessons introduced by teacher.
- B. Help teacher present lesson.
- C. Evaluate student progress on an individual basis.
- D. Review concepts taught by teacher.
- E. Instruct small groups.
- F. Conduct specialized tutoring.
- G. Teach class in absence of teacher.
- H. Teach songs and plays.
- I. Analyze and diagnose reading problems.
- J. Teach phonetic skills.
- K. Counsel individual children.
- L. Use approved methods of discipline.

III. Housekeeping

- A. Set up displays.
- B. Keep bulletin boards current.

IV. Managerial

A. Supervise lunchroom.
B. Supervise recess.
C. Supervise detention for entire school.
D. Manage collection of monies.
E. Assume classroom control in absence of teacher.
F. Relieve teachers for planning periods.
G. Supervise halls and corridors.
H. Supervise noon movie, lunchroom.
I. Supervise study group in library.
J. Manage school store.
K. Manage homeroom.

V. Community Contact

A. Motivate and facilitate parent involvement.
B. Serve as liaison to community groups and organizations.

VI. Materials Preparation

A. Construct transparencies, flash cards, etc.
B. Operate dry copier, xerox machine, etc.

VII. Audiovisual Operator

A. Operate all AV equipment.
B. Utilize various educational toys.

San Francisco Unified School District

Children Center and Prekindergarten

Academic Areas

1. Tell or read stories to children.
2. Help children with language arts, skills.
3. Work with word drills.
4. Work with individuals or small groups in follow-up reading activities.
5. Explain basic concepts of nutrition and hygiene to children.
6. Prepare materials for specific lessons.

Classroom Routine

1. Register new students.
2. Assist in art work.
3. Assist with field trip arrangements.
4. Assist on field trips.
5. Assist in housekeeping of classroom.
6. Take charge of class when teacher is out of room.
7. Work on special projects.
8. Work with individuals and/or small and large groups.
9. Help children learn routines in terms of keeping the room orderly and attractive for themselves.
10. Aid pupils with minor injuries or illnesses.
11. Talk with individuals about school work.
12. Provide moral support when individuals have difficulty with a learning situation.

School Routine

1. Supervise playground, yard, and cafeteria.
2. Assist with special activities, such as art shows, science fair, sports, etc.

Community Relations

1. Act as a liaison between parents and school.
2. Under direction of teacher, invite parents to attend programs on exhibits.
3. Participate in parent-teacher-pupil conferences.

Counseling Aide

Academic Areas

1. Tutor in the following academic subjects:
   Reading, Math, Spelling, Language Arts, Social Science.
2. Assist in testing.
3. Consult Reading Specialist in preparation of materials.

Classroom Routine

1. Observe students in classroom.
2. Participate in classroom activities.
3. Assist substitute teachers in classroom.
4. Consult teacher on specific behavior and learning difficulties.
5. Plan and participate on field trips.

School Routine

1. Participate in school projects (graduation, fairs, picnics).
2. Work in supervision of hallways.
3. Supervise yard games.
4. Make referrals to school nurse.

Program Related

1. Attend inservice training.
2. Update records; keep records.
3. Write reports.
4. Attend staff meetings.
5. Work on evaluation.
6. Perform clerical work.

Counseling

1. Perform group and individual counseling.
2. Perform counseling in crisis situations.
3. Observe and counsel in yard and in lunchroom.
4. Hold conferences with teachers and students.
5. Work with Speech Therapist.
6. Play with children.

Community Relations

1. Familiarize him/herself with people and agencies on his/her referral list.
2. Be aware of the particular school community needs and concerns.
3. Act as liaison between school and community.
4. Contact and become familiar with community agencies.
5. Make referrals to community agencies.
6. Confer with parents.
7. Make home visits.

ESL Bilingual Aide

Academic Areas

1. Tell and read stories to children.
2. Give word drills.
3. Review English vocabulary with students.
4. Take new students on tour of school.
5. Help with spelling.
6. Listen to and correct improper speech.
7. Help children with language arts skills.
8. Work with individuals or small groups in follow-up reading activities.
9. Teach English as a second language.

Classroom Routine

1. Prepare classroom materials.
2. Take charge of class when teacher is out of room.
3. Work with individuals and/or small groups.
4. Check pupils' performances of assigned tasks.
5. Talk with individuals about self-discipline.
6. Provide moral support when individuals have difficulty.
7. Assist in organization and setting up of bulletin boards.
8. Plan and participate in field trips.
9. Collect and distribute specific materials for lessons.
10. Help maintain a folder of representative work for each student.

School Routine

1. Orient students to school rules.
2. Orient students to teacher's role, counselor's role, etc.
3. Perform supervision duty in playground, yard, and cafeteria.
4. Assist in clerical work.

Community Relations

1. Act as liaison between parents-school.
2. Participate in parent-teacher-pupil conferences.
3. Contact children's parents (both) by telephone and visit home when directed.

Media Technician

Academic Areas

1. Assist in language arts, social studies, reading, and mathematics programs.
2. Provide student- and teacher-produced visual materials.
3. Activate interdisciplinary learning.
4. Provide student-community projects.
5. Activate multi-ethnic learning.
6. Accelerate creative teaching.
7. Provide opportunities for individualized instruction (special projects).
8. Take child and/or children to library to work on special projects.
9. Help children with language arts skills.

Classroom Routine

1. Instruct teachers and students in the operation and maintenance of multimedia equipment.
2. Teach camera techniques (still and motion), projector techniques, design multiple visuals, darkroom techniques, and setting up and using three-screen units.
3. Instruct students and teachers in developing individualized learning projects by incorporating student- and teacher-made materials.
4. Present student-produced, three-screen rear view slide program.
5. Help students to study a subject further. Example: study about Chinese Americans in San Francisco, show "Children of the Golden Mountain."
6. Stimulate the class to create their own programs.
7. Teach students picture taking, developing, and enlarging.
8. Set up bulletin boards for children's displays.

School Routine

1. Centers are set up for zones, not individual schools.
2. Meet with teachers and school principals, setting up appointments for multimedia demonstrations.
3. Assist with and participate in field trips.
4. Make audiovisual aids.
5. Help children select books and bring in and display library materials.
6. Operate audiovisual equipment.

Community Relations

1. Attend P.T.A. meetings and demonstrate materials and methods and techniques of working with students and teachers.
2. Work with other school programs. Example: Teacher Learning Center, P.T.A., etc.
3. Invite parents to attend programs or exhibits put on by students.

Library Aide

Ordering Process

1. Use adding machine to verify total costs of book orders.
2. Receive and unpack shipments of materials, check materials against order, verify invoices with shipments.
3. File invoices.
4. Assess needs of the library and make appropriate suggestions.
5. Check order against card catalog to avoid unwanted duplication.
6. Prepare materials according to established routines.

Operational Process

1. Check shelves on a regular basis to see that non-fiction books are in Dewey Decimal order and that fiction books are in alphabetical order.
2. Publicize and promote use of library materials.
3. Process new books and other multimedia materials.
4. Open and close library under supervision.
5. Assist in exhibits and displays.
6. File cards in card catalog.

Student and Staff Related

1. Assist children in locating books on library shelves.
2. Teach children the use of library tools (i.e., card catalog, etc.).
3. Read stories to groups of students.
4. Keep librarian informed of classroom activities.
5. Charge and discharge library materials.
6. Pull sets of various books on a subject and send them to teachers upon request.
7. Recommend books to students (after reading same).

Maintenance Process

1. Maintain physical standards of book collection by typing and affixing labels to spines, typing charge cards, replacing date due slips and doing simple mending with library mending tape.
2. Maintain card catalog and shelf list inventory.

3. Maintain a running inventory of library supplies so that they can be kept at the needed volume.
4. Maintain equipment inventories.
5. Assist in inventory during school term.

Community Relations

1. Participate in P.T.A. Library Committee meetings and explain to P.T.A. the duties of a library aide.

Special Education

All Educationally Handicapped Aides

Academic Areas

1. Talk or read stories to children.
2. Work with individuals and small groups in follow-up reading activities.
3. Help children learn how to keep the room orderly and attractive.
4. Give word drills.

Classroom Activities

1. Prepare classroom aids.
2. Work with individuals and small groups.
3. Help children learn how to keep room orderly and attractive for themselves.
4. Take charge of class when teacher is out of the room.
5. Perform clerical duties.
6. Assist on field trips.
7. Help in organizing and setting up bulletin boards.
8. Provide moral support when individuals have difficulty with a learning situation.
9. Talk with individuals about self-discipline.
10. Check pupils' performances of assigned tasks.

School Routine

1. Supervise playground, yard, and cafeteria.
2. Help children in selecting books.
3. Assist in setting up library display materials.

Community Relations

1. Telephone parents about routine matters.
2. Participate in parent-teacher-pupil conferences.

Special Education

Hearing Handicapped Aide

Description of Role

1. Participate independently in conducting a complex motor training program.
2. Demonstrate positive attitude about the significant worth of learning daily living skills, i.e., hand washing, toilet training (including management of accidents), eating, dressing, grooming, etc.
3. Conduct oral language training activities.
4. Provide an excellent speech and language model for children to imitate.
5. Learn easily and quickly the manipulation and adjustment of hearing aids.
6. Demonstrate understanding of 3-, 4-, and 5-year-old behavior.
7. Prepare audiovisual curriculum materials.

Visually Handicapped Aide

Description of Role

1. Demonstrate positive attitude about the significant worth of learning daily living skills, i.e., hand washing, eating, dressing, toilet training, grooming, etc. (Includes management of toilet accidents.)
2. Demonstrate knowledge of primary curriculum areas; Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, etc.
3. Participate actively in walking field trips.
4. Is physically able to pick up children and to stretch, bend, squat, crawl, etc., with younger children.
5. Work with individuals and groups of children independently and cooperatively.
6. Demonstrate ability to follow and move through a rigorous time schedule.
7. Learn quickly a rather complex orientation program.

Special Education

Deaf-Blind Aide

Description of Role

1. Communicate (includes special deaf/blind sign language) with deaf/blind children.
2. Participate in a program of precision teaching techniques with deaf/blind children.
3. Independently conduct intensive tutorial activities designed by the teacher (rhythm, drum beating, vocalizing, etc.) using behavior modification techniques.
4. Demonstrate positive attitude about the significant worth of learning daily living skills, i.e., hand washing, eating, dressing, toilet training, grooming, etc.
5. Demonstrate ability to follow and move through a rigorous, demanding time schedule.
6. Pick up children; physically restrain and support children; squat, crawl, bend to work on physical level with children.
7. Participate actively in swimming pool activities with children.

Dysphasic Aide

Description of Role

1. Conduct oral language training programs under direction of special teacher.
2. Work with individuals and groups.
3. Modify his/her oral language with ease to match auditory abilities of pupils.
4. Interact positively and supportively with pupils experiencing emotional crises.
5. Deal with hostile behavior comfortably.
6. Demonstrate awareness and adaptation in reducing frustration of pupils.
7. Provides accepting and appropriate levels of expectancy to facilitate communicative interactions with and among pupils.
8. Demonstrate flexibility and cooperation in serving two teachers and two classes.
9. Participate actively in walking field trips.
10. Learns quickly a rather complex orientation program.

School Laboratory Assistant

School Routine

1. Prepare, assemble, set up, and distribute laboratory apparatus, equipment, audiovisual aids, materials, and reagents for biochemistry classes and laboratory experiments.
2. Attend laboratory when in use and assist as needed.
3. Safeguard all laboratory supplies and equipment against breakage, spoilage, or theft.
4. Organize and instruct student volunteer groups to assist aide in carrying out his/her duties under teacher's direction.
5. Confer with teachers and students regarding use of laboratory.

Maintenance

1. Store, maintain, and make minor repairs to laboratory equipment.
2. Construct simple laboratory apparatus when needed.
3. Receive and check laboratory supplies as they arrive.
4. Maintain an inventory of laboratory supplies.
5. Assist in maintenance of laboratory equipment and supplies in biochemistry laboratory at high school and perform related duties as required.
6. Assist in the prevention of damage and loss of laboratory equipment.

Clerical

1. Type reports for classroom use.
2. Prepare stencils and mimeograph materials used in Science classes.

School Laboratory Attendant

School Routine

Set up and distribute laboratory aids, apparatus, equipment, and materials for laboratory use; safeguard laboratory supplies and equipment against breakage, spoilage, or theft.

Maintenance

1. Store laboratory equipment and supplies; inspect equipment for obvious and minor damage; maintain inventory and records of supplies.
2. Check materials and equipment in and out of school laboratories and assist the instructor in setting up demonstrations, experiments, and equipment.

Clerical

Assist certified staff in preparation of records and reports. Related duties as required. Example: Order supplies when needed.

Health Aide

Counseling

1. Talk to and take time with children who have discipline problems which are health related.
2. Counsel children who have health problems in the following areas: hygiene, nutrition, acne, weight, dental care, pierced ears, menstruation.
3. Listen to students' problems not necessarily related to health.
4. Attend conferences with psychologists, social workers, teachers, counselors, assistant principals, principals, etc.
5. Discuss students' questions on health problems.
6. Comfort and counsel troubled children.

Formal Health Instruction, Research, and Inservice

1. Set up health classes for small groups.
2. Assist Public Health Nurse with weight watchers class.
3. Sit in on class, lecture on health problems.
4. Give talks to different classes to help them to understand the functions of the health aide.
5. Participate in meetings with other health aides for inservice and drug abuse programs.
6. Help organize V.D. information programs with deans, counselors, mental health centers, etc.
7. Participate in V.D. and sex education programs.
8. Attend Family Life Education Series.
9. Write pamphlets for V.D. presentations.
10. Order and screen health films for next year.
11. Assist with nurses' club activities.
12. Assist in planning of health curriculum.
13. Research health information.

Immediate Medical Aid

1. Deal with emergency injuries requiring parental contact, accident reports, and hospital referrals.
2. Call mini-bus for sick child going home.
3. Give private Medical Doctor referrals.
4. Clean and bandage wounds.
5. Apply ice to possible sprains and head injuries.
6. Apply warm compresses to strained muscles and abdomen for menstrual cramps.

7. Treat bloody noses.
8. Remove small splinters.
9. Observe children for further medical complications.
10. Care for stomach aches and headaches.
11. Identify signs and symptoms of oncoming illnesses.
12. Remove foreign objects from eyes.
13. Give students salt water for gargling.
14. Allow children to rest.

Medical Follow Ups

1. Follow up on prolonged absences.
2. Follow up on those students with previous medical problems.
3. Compile a list of those who need periodic follow up.
4. Assist students in taking prescribed medicines, with parental and administrative approvals.
5. Contact parents and talk with children about immunizations.
6. Make appointments at public health office or San Francisco General Hospital.
7. Accompany child to Public Health Center or hospital with parental and school approvals.
8. Make home visits with nurse.
9. Follow up on Private Medical Doctor (PMD) instructions.

Clerical

1. File, update, and organize health card files.
2. Type mimeograph sheets.
3. Transfer health records.
4. Take telephone messages.
5. Contact parents if health records have not been submitted to proper school personnel.

Screening and Follow Up

1. Assist nurse with routine procedures in health screening: vision, hearing, T.B. testing, sickle cell anemia, dental care, physical exam, etc.
2. Contact parents to get permission slips for health screening
3. Follow up on all screening. Involves contacting parents, students, occasionally teachers, counselors.
4. Screen out potential remedial P.E. participants for next September's program.
5. Arrange or assist in pregnancy tests.

Routine Maintenance Duties

1. Maintain discipline in nurse's office.
2. Maintain and replenish first aid supplies.
3. Refill field trip kits.
4. Keep first aid tray in order.
5. Pick up medical supplies.
6. Keep nurse's office clean and orderly and keep bedding changed.
7. Report need for new supplies to principal.
8. Make and keep current a bulletin board display for office.
9. Order supplies for next year.
10. Give first aid supplies to teachers.

Savannah, Georgia

Aides

Teacher

Duplicate instructional materials.
Duplicate mass communications.
Copy materials on blackboard (requires legible manuscript and cursive writing).
Duplicate children's writings and other works.
Duplicate class newspaper.
Duplicate scripts for plays and skits.
Telephone parents of absent children.
Telephone parents to verify notes requesting that children leave school early.
Account for and inventory nonconsumable classroom stock such as books, textbooks, dictionaries, reference books, etc.
File correspondence and other reports in children's records.
Complete requisition supply forms.
Send for free and inexpensive materials.
Enter evaluative marks in teacher's marking book.
Supervise clean up time.
Assist in supervising playground, cafeteria, and loading and unloading of buses.
Supervise checking in and out of books in room library.

Library

Mend and rebind books.
Prepare bulletin boards.
Shelve books and read shelves.
Learn classification of books in the library.
Learn the use of the card catalog.
Make the library attractive.

Counselor

Duplicate guidance materials.
File letters, information, etc.
Write for guidance materials.
Proctor for group testing.
Complete counselor reports.
Type interview notes.
Repair and mend worn materials.
Maintain guidance folders for children.
Make appointments.
Pick up children for counseling appointments.

Teacher	Library	Counselor
Supervise children scheduled for health examinations by nurse or doctor.		
Supervise children scheduled for routine measuring, weighing, and eye testing.		
Attend to housekeeping chores.		
Attend to classroom physical environment; ventilation, lighting, temperature.		
Set up and maintain appropriate seating arrangements for various activities.		
Help with children's clothing.		
Prepare work areas, such as arranging materials for accessibility for art, music, mathematics, science, and reading activities.		
Repair and mend worn books.		
Keep storage areas neat, orderly.		
Distribute and collect supplies, books, and other materials.		
Obtain and return books, pictures, audiovisual materials and equipment, etc., from library.		
Listen to oral reading by children.		
See that all students are doing the correct assignment.		
Assist teacher in keeping bulletin boards neat, exciting, and up-to-date.		
Display pupil work.		
Keep and maintain a folder of representative work for each child.		
Arrange displays of pictures, objects, models, etc.		
Clip and file pictures and articles for use.		

Teacher	Library	Counselor
Obtain supplementary books and materials for instructional activities. Assist with making of simple maps. Aid the child in looking up words in simple dictionaries or pictionaries and general reference books. Help pupils make a scrapbook of interesting classifications. Help children locate materials.		

Assistant

Keep attendance records. Act as guide to visitors. Telephone parents about routine matters. Set up appointments with parents. Make arrangements for field trips. Collect parental permission forms. Transcribe grades to report cards. Maintain inventory of classroom equipment, instructional materials, and supplies. Reproduce list of children assigned to sections. Supervise seatwork. Supervise individuals and small groups. Assist teacher with indoor games on rainy days. Assist students with independent study. Assist with small group or committee work. Set up and operate audiovisual equipment.	Perform clerical duties: typing, invoicing, filing. Process library materials. Use equipment: audiovisual, mimeograph, copiers, mounting press, microfiche. Set up equipment for faculty and student use.	Perform clerical, receptionist, and related duties. Develop bulletin boards. Make appointments. Maintain records and files. Typing. Prepare reports, etc. Maintain career information files.

Teacher	Library	Counselor
Provide guidance for children in operation and use of tape recorder, filmstrip projector, record player, headphones, etc.		
Tape oral reading, reports, stories, etc.		
Assist student by clarifying assignments.		
Supervise and/or play educational games selected for reinforcement or practice of skills introduced by teacher.		
Read child's favorite book to him.		
Obtain special materials for projects.		
Prepare charts, transparencies, and other visual materials for use in instructional activities as determined by the teacher.		
Help pupils with thank you letters.		
Provide basic assistance to students with special homework assignments.		
Arrange an interesting and inviting corner for recreational reading.		
Help with dramatizations and role playing.		
Assist with making of charts or pictures.		
Assist committees engaged in art activities, such as making simple hand puppets.		
Aid in use of special reference works.		
Supervise seatwork call for some judgment.		
Proofread class newspaper.		
Assist with administration of tests.		

Associate

Teacher

Telephone arrangements for special classroom resource speakers.
Complete school and county records requiring strictly objective data.
Complete necessary records and bring other information up-to-date for cumulative records.
Score standardized and informal tests and prepare profiles under supervision of teacher.
Aid in selection of appropriate materials for students.
Listen for evaluation of children's oral reading.
Take dictation from child too young to write.
Tutor individual children.
Help pupils who are absent to get caught up with the rest of the class.
Correct homework and workbooks, noting and reporting weak areas.
Read and tell stories.
Assist with making of original books.
Interview children with specific problems.
Assist children with spelling, punctuation, and grammar.
Assist teacher in preparing students to properly use audiovisual equipment.
Help in preparation of plays and programs.
Teach part of the class about a simple understanding or skill in reading.
Review or summarize learnings.
Assist with large group instruction.

Library

Catalog and file cards.
Aid pupil in selection of books and other media.
Read and tell stories.
Prepare booklists.
Prepare packets for unit study in classroom.
Schedule audiovisual equipment and resources not in local library.
Help plan publicity ideas, programs, and activities for special observances.
Work with student library club.
Keep circulation records.

Counselor

Work with parents.
Interview parents and children for data collection.
Prepare parents, through visitation, for cooperative work with professional staff.
Work with students in planning for future.

Intern

Teacher	Library	Counselor
Prepare informal tests and other evaluative instruments. Observe child behavior and write reports. Confer with other teachers and the principal about specific children. Research curriculum development. Evaluate informal learnings.	Help with supervision of aides and assistants in the career lattice. Select material for vertical file. Review books for possible selection and for book talks to older groups. Preview films, filmstrips, transparencies, slides, tapes, etc. Help with pupil research and reference. Help with teaching library skills. Work with inventory and weeding of material. Help with public relations by serving on faculty and community groups.	Begin group guidance activities in the areas of educational and occupational planning. Work with community agencies and businesses in determining job opportunities for youth. Interview students Interview students on educational and occupational plans. Interpret student home visitation to teachers and nonprofessionals.